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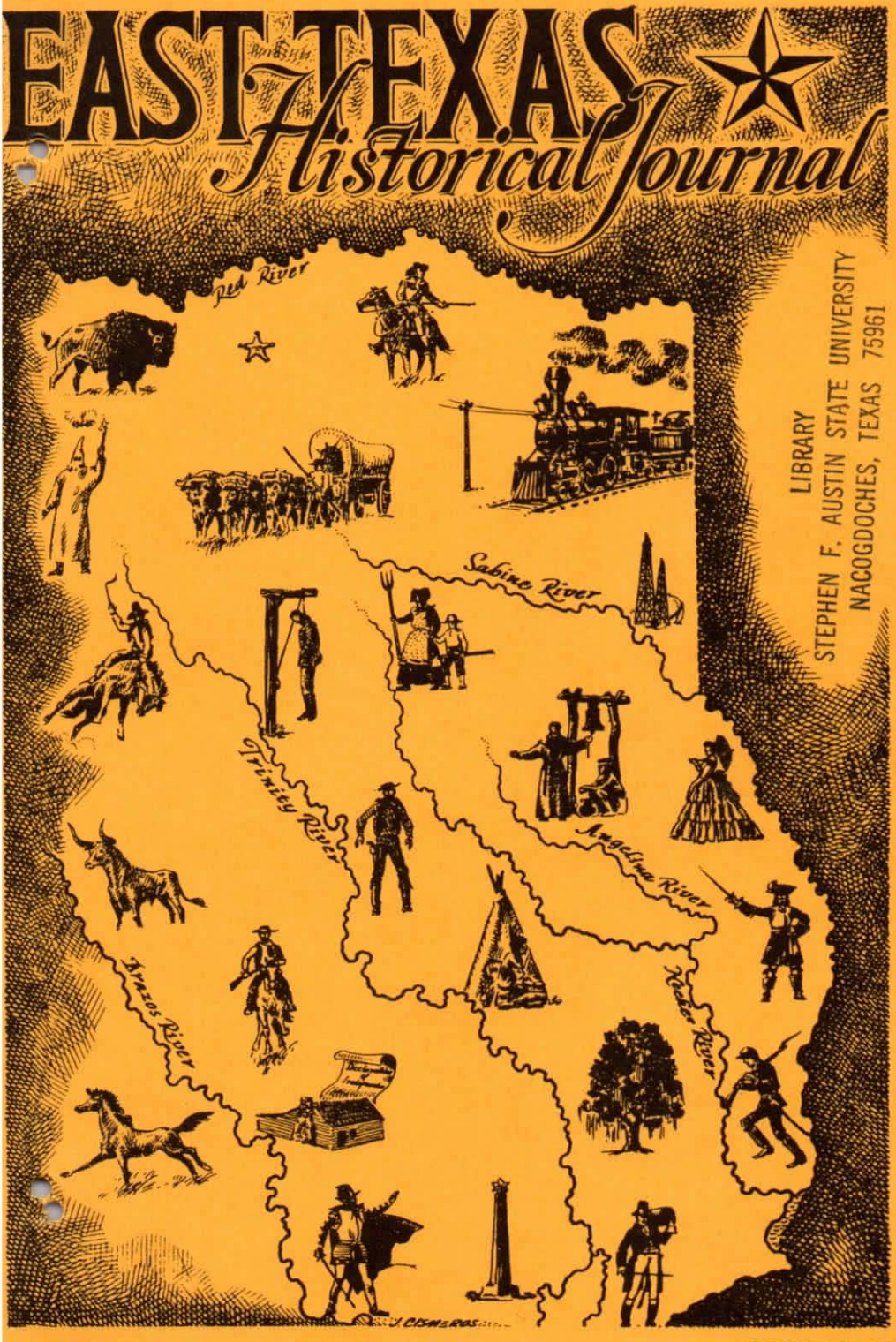

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NACOGDOCHES, TEXAS

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Archie P. McDonald, Editor

BOOK REVIEWS

A POLITICAL LABYRINTH: TEXAS IN THE CIVIL WAR

by Nancy Head Bowen

Thirty-six years ago an eminent historian, Charles W. Ramsdell, surveyed some of the problems involved in writing the history of the Southern Confederacy. Ramsdell urged the student of the Confederacy to steep himself in the South, to acquaint himself with the "nature and extent of the material resources" of that region, and to plunge into ante-bellum state politics. Ramsdell was convinced that local and intrastate issues were as important in state affairs as reactions and responses to Federal politics. Futhermore, he asserted that local ante-bellum political alignments, personal rivalries, and social and economic distinctions carried over into the Confederate experience and helped to shape the peculiar nature of that exercise in nation-making.[1] More recently, Frank E. Vandiver supplied an updated version of the problems which remain unsolved in Confederate history. New questions, new techniques, and new analytical tools will produce new answers regarding the Confederate experience, Vandiver suggested; but old questions persist, demanding answers. Although Vandiver tends to view the Confederacy from the perspective of Richmond, or more particularly from the window of Jefferson Davis' office, he has taken a hard look at the Trans-Mississippi West and has tried to unsnarl some of the tangles in that oft-ignored Department. But, as he notes, the experience of the Trans-Mississippi will become comprehensible only after historians prowl the labyrinth of intrastate politics, factional rivalries, and personal contests.[2]

The history of Civil War politics in Texas, the most important state in the Trans-Mississippi Department, currently is an impoverished history. Fortunately, the neglect which characterizes non-military aspects of Civil War Texas does not attend the state's ante-bellum politics. For example, Randolph Campbell has lifted the Texas Whigs from obscurity and has managed to identify their stand on some public issues. Frank H. Smyrl and Ralph A. Wooster have scrutinized the Unionists and the Know-Nothings to the point that we will continue to equate the two groups at our own peril. Indeed, Professor Wooster, in sifting through the Federal Census returns of 1850 and 1860, has given us valuable, digested data on Know-Nothings, secessionists, wealthy Texans, and slaveholders. Llerena Friend's biography of "the great designer", Sam Houston, moved beyond its central figure and surveyed pivotal issues, including frontier defense, in the 1850's. Earl Fornell's study of Galveston on the eve of secession examined island city personalities and factions, scanned the development of informal banking operations, and sorted through at least some of the intricacies of railroad politics. In short, we know something about the parties, the major figures, and the critical issues of frontier defense and internal improvements in ante-bellum Texas.[3]

No one, however, has seen fit to act upon the suggestions of either Ramsdell or Vandiver to determine whether and in what ways these ante-bellum alignments and issues carried over into the political experience of Civil War Texas. Instead, historians whose essays have ranged from the complex cotton trade to the state's tortuous financial system to the massacre of German "Tories" at the headwaters of the Nueces River have rather consistently dismissed or ignored the political matrix in which such

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An earlier version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association, March 10, 1972.

issues existed. At the risk of oversimplifying, most accounts of "Texas in the Civil War" have been written in a vacuum which choked out politics. Such failures might be explained in several ways. First, with the important exceptions of Sam Houston, Rip Ford, John H. Reagan, and Louis T. Wigfall, we have few biographical or political studies of the principal leaders of the state and therefore few secondary sources on which to base generalizations.[4] Second, we know more about the ante-bellum Whigs, the Know-Nothings, the Germans, and the Unionists than we do about the Democrats, who, after all, led Texas out of the Union and governed the state during the Civil War. Third, much of what occurred in Texas in wartime was dictated either by the Confederate lawmakers in Richmond or by the military officials at the Trans-Mississippi Department headquarters in Shreveport. To understand Texas lawmaking, financing, purchasing, and peacekeeping requires a perspective that stretches from Austin to Shreveport to Richmond and back again. Fourth, and I think the most important reason we have failed to write more comprehensive, perhaps even synthetic accounts of Texas in the Civil War, is that we have a very limited definition of politics. We are inclined to think that there are no politics if there are no political parties. The Democratic party organization had disintegrated, hence no party, hence no politics. The time has come to approach the history of politics as something different from the history of political parties or the history of government, although politics, parties, and government are, of course, intertwined. In other words, we must look at past politics as the history of the ways men have used the formal, public institutions of government to acquire and then secure power. We must look at past politics as struggles between factions, personal rivals, and interest groups for authority.[5] To define politics in this way permits a fresh look at Texas and at the very least, introduces us into an unexplored maze.

Statewide elections in Civil War Texas offer one entry into the political labyrinth. Although several historians have included some election results in their general accounts of Confederate Texas, they have treated these results quite casually. Such a cavalier attitude probably can be traced to Oran M. Roberts' contention in 1897 that "during the whole of the war . . ., there was but little controversy of a political character in Texas".[6] Roberts' statement has been echoed more recently by Professors Ernest Wallace and Stephen B. Oates.[7] Consider, for example, the gubernatorial election in August, 1861, which pitted the incumbent governor, Edward Clark, against Francis R. Lubbock and General T. J. Chambers. Since the candidates had promised to prosecute the war with vigor, since they seemed avidly devoted to the Confederate cause, the contest presumably boiled down to a pageant of personalities. Professor Wallace noted that the candidates' lack of disagreement plus the paucity of issues so reduced public interest that 6,500 fewer people voted than had voted in the crucial Houston-Runnels contest in 1859.[8]

But a careful look at the 1861 election returns suggests that however "engrossed in fighting the war" Texans were, they still managed to get to the polls in great numbers. More than 57,000 of them voted in the governor's race, a respectable number if compared with either the previous gubernatorial election or the February referendum on the Ordinance of Secession.[9] To accentuate the point, by election day in August, several thousand Texans had volunteered for military duty east of the Mississippi River. Equally significant, but certainly more perplexing, is the fact that Lubbock's margin of victory over runner-up Clark was a mere 124 votes.[10] Neither Lubbock nor Clark had undertaken a statewide canvass, but Lubbock had received the endorsement of the state's leading newspapers, the Austin *State Gazette* and the Houston *Telegraph;* their support, he had assumed, would help to elect him.[11]

These election returns permit no firm conclusions, but they do provoke questions where none have been asked. For instance, had Lubbock's early espousal of secession endeared him to the more ardent Confederates, who were thereby willing to use their political talents in his behalf? Conversely, had Lubbock's active support of filibusters and his determination to re-open the slave trade alienated the more moderate elements in the state, especially the Unionists?[12] Or had Lubbock's lack of opportunity to make hard decisions been a definite asset? Did Clark, identified with the Pease-Houston-Unionist wing of the Democratic party in the 1850's, reap the wrath of John Marshall, *State Gazette* editor and chairman of the Democratic executive committee? As governor, had Clark actively suppressed the Unionist "heresies"? Had he coped effectively with the enduring problem of frontier defense?[13]

The election of 1863 presents a similar enigma. A contest between Pendleton Murrah, a lawyer and former state legislator from Marshall, and General T. J. Chambers, a wealthy planter and four times candidate for governor, it too has been dismissed: the total number of votes cast was barely more than half the total in 1861.[14] Both candidates, moreover, were presumed to be equally dedicated to the Cause.[15] With thousands of potential voters out of the state in military service and in "political exile", the reduced vote was not necessarily the product of reduced interest. Nor did the candidates' equal devotion to the Confederacy necessarily represent common methods of actualizing their devotion.

General Chambers had received the endorsement of the Austin *Tri-Weekly State Gazette* whose editor tried to refute charges that the General was "anti-Administration".[16] Jefferson Davis' refusal to grant Chambers a commission in the Confederate army may have led to Chamber's pique; at any rate, he favored subordinating military to civilian authority, especially in the question of impressment of cotton. The *Gazette* editor's assertion that "the wheat region is strong for Chambers" probably reflected Chambers' general opposition to impressment.[17] On the other hand, Murrah was considered the "Administration candidate" which meant in the summer of 1863 that he sustained the impressment policies adopted by General E. Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department, and General J. Bankhead Magruder, commanding the District of Texas.[18] That Smith was anxious about the election was indicated in his correspondence with Magruder. "As much importance may be attached to the results of that election," he wrote, it would be advisable to confine impressment to the vicinity of the Rio Grande "where the election will be least influenced." Moreover, "no additional exciting cause should be presented that may influence the minds of voters."[19] Fear that an anti-Administration man would be elected governor reached all the way to Richmond. Texas Congressman Peter W. Gray wrote W. P. Ballinger that "so many little things have occurred to raise the idea that there is a feeling for Independence in Texas," that the election of a "hostile Govr," would be peculiarly unfortunate.[20]

There is further evidence to underscore the assumption that the stakes were real in 1863, that men did not merely traipse to the polls out of habit. Speculation about this race began early in the spring.[21] Although the contest finally "narrowed down to a very small affair," several prominent Texans had flirted with the notion of announcing their candidacies.[22] Since there were neither nominating conventions nor formal party organizations, friends of prospective candidates "came out" for their man.

Many serious conversations doubtless preceded the announcements. For example, W. P. Ballinger, the Galveston lawyer who had been appointed Receiver under authority of the Confederate Sequestration Act, recounted the business of several such caucuses held in his Houston office.[23] Among the Texans who were mentioned as possible candidates were Guy M. Bryan, a former U.S. Congressman and secession

leader, Fletcher Stockdale, South Texas lawyer and Democratic party leader, Milton M. Potter, recently chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Texas House of Representatives, and William Pinckney Hill, Confederate Judge of the Eastern District of Texas. Hill quickly removed himself from consideration, confiding in Ballinger that he "would not accept the office under any circumstances" nor would he ever "be a *candidate* for any office."[24] Bryan acknowledged that he had been urged by friends in Waco to enter the race; however, personal matters, an appointment to Kirby Smith's staff, and apprehension that Sam Houston would run for governor combined to convince Bryan to "electioneer" for either John Gregg or Potter.[25]

Potter, a Galvestonian, had discussed the gubernatorial race as early as April 3, 1863, but a month later he was undecided.[26] Stockdale had "tendered the track to Potter," Ballinger wrote, and Ballinger then added that Potter "will not be open & frank, takes alarm & withdraws at the 11th hour."[27] Some men speculated that General Henry McCulloch's announced candidacy would cut into Potter's support.[28] Such a fear might have forced Potter's decision. Or Potter may have realized that his health was too fragile to permit him to continue in public service.[29] At any rate, despite the good wishes of men whose views were so diverse as those of E. H. Cushing, editor of the *Houston Telegraph,* and George W. Paschal, reclusive Austin Unionist, Potter declined to make the race.[30] By mid-June, General McCulloch, commanding troops East of the Mississippi, had withdrawn from the contest; Cushing of the *Telegraph* had endorsed Pendleton Murrah; and friends and supporters of the Administration and its policies had turned to the business of insuring a friendly face in the Governor's Mansion.[31]

If wartime elections were based on personalities rather than on issues as several historians have contended, how then do we account for Murrah's victory? Guy Bryan had described Murrah as "not popular in his section & untried as a statesman."[32] He was not well known in Harris County where he nevertheless polled 83% of the vote. But he was an "Eastern" man and several prominent Houstonians thought an "eastern" man stood the best chance.[33] Moreover, as even the pro-Chambers *State Gazette* noted, Murrah gained an advantage when McCulloch withdrew because their "friends . . . are to a great extent mutual."[34] Although the factional alignments remain obscure, it seems clear that many "good and proper" men believed that Murrah would maintain cordial relations with the Trans-Mississippi Department.[35] Chambers may have possessed "some high qualities for the office," but could he be relied on? Or as a staff officer at the Trans-Mississippi headquarters in Shreveport remarked, "we could not tell when [Chambers] might explode the whole machine."[36]

One other election will serve to indicate the presence of politics where none were thought to be. In fact, with very few exceptions, no historian has recorded the results, much less commented upon the issues, of the State Supreme Court elections held in August, 1864.[37] The death of Chief Justice Royall T. Wheeler and the expiration of the term of Associate Justice James H. Bell prompted Governor Pendleton Murrah to issue a proclamation calling for elections to fill both vancancies.[38] Texas lawyers and other public men who were naturally interested in elections of men to the highest bench in the state were especially interested in this contest. At least one issue seemed clear. Justice Bell, an original opponent of secession, had written a dissenting opinion in *Ex parte* Coupland in which he went so far as to declare the Confederate Conscription Act unconstitutional.[39] Bell's election probably would have been interpreted as a "triumph of unionism;" consequently, the pro-Confederate leaders in the state had to settle on a single candidate to oppose him.[40]

Lieutenant-Governor Fletcher Stockdale seems to have been a central figure in heading off Bell. As Stockdale viewed the upcoming election, Bell would "get the

vote of a great many true men in the country who were opposed to Secession in the outset & who while they are true to the South can't yet tolerate an original secessionist." In addition, Bell would receive the votes of "every enemy of the South or of the Confederate Government and its policy."[41] The Lieutenant-Governor regarded Bell "as the most dangerous man in the state—ready to sustain the Federals at the first good opportunity."[42] Concentrating on a single man for Chief Justice was not easy but it was necessary. Stockdale's clique had narrowed the field of prospective candidates to two men, Oran M. Roberts, President of the Secession Convention and a former justice, and Judge Peter W. Gray, former Confederate Congressman and currently Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for the Trans-Mississippi Department.[43] Since the Legislature was called to special session in May, 1864, friends of both Roberts and Gray had numerous opportunities to poll influential politicians. Roberts had cautiously approached his possible candidacy, noting not only "the difficulties of a canvass at this period" but also the fickleness and uncertainty of the "drifts of public favor."[44] His friends in the Legislature, however, were determined; they would not abandon Roberts in order to unite around Gray.[45]

Support for Gray persisted until early summer; by that time, Gray's friends and Bell's enemies seemed to have rallied to Roberts. Several factors eliminated Gray from further consideration. J. D. Giddings, the Confederate States Receiver in Brenham, worried that Gray's vote in the Confederate Congress to suspend the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* would jeopardize his chances.[46] Furthermore, Gray had been defeated for re-election to Congress, presumably because he supported Confederate policy.[47] Thus, as one of this friends wrote, "I think it too soon for him to try again."[48] There was also some doubt whether Gray would desire a permanent place on the bench since he occupied an important office in the Trans-Mississippi Department and thus enjoyed an influence on both sides of the River.[49] In any case, uniting behind Roberts certainly obriated any change that Bell could carry for states Roberts polled a lopsided 78% of the vote in an election which must have generated some public interest, that is, if public interest can be measured at all by vote totals.[50] Nearly 31,000 voters turned out for this contest, a striking number when one considers that "the public mind [was] engrossed with the war,"[51] that thousands of Texas troops were across the River, that this was not a general election year, and that the vote almost equalled that cast in the 1863 gubernatorial contest.

Surely, it is manifest that in Civil War Texas issues existed, politicians maneuvered, legislators cajoled, and friends got out the vote. Having entered the labyrinth, however, we have not yet discovered its secrets. Unless we are willing to open our eyes to see that politics are not limited to inter-party strife but extend kaleidoscopically through personal jealousies, factional rivalries, geographical divisions, and hostile interest-groups, we are destined to understand neither Texas nor the Trans-Mississippi West in the Civil War.

NOTES

[1]Charles W. Ramsdell, "Some Problems Involved in Writing the History of the Confederacy," *Journal of Southern History,* II (1936), 135.

[2]Frank E. Vandiver, "Some Problems Involved in Writing Confederate History," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXVI (1970), 407. Also see Vandiver, *Their Tattered Flags* (New York, 1970), 190-197.

[3]See Randolph Campbell, "The Whigs of Texas in the Elections of 1848 and 1852," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXXIII (July, 1969), 17-34; Frank H. Smyrl, "Unionism, Abolitionism, and Vigilantism in Texas, 1856-1865" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Texas, 1961); Smyrl, "Unionism in Texas, 1856-1861," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXVIII (October, 1964), 172-195; Ralph A. Wooster, "An Analysis of the Texas Know-Nothings," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXX (January, 1967), 414-423; Wooster, "An Analysis of the Membership of the Texas Secession Convention," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXII (January, 1959), 322-325; Wooster (comp.), "Notes on Texas' Largest Slaveholders, 1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXV (July, 1961), 72-79; Wooster, *The People in Power: Courthouse and Statehouse in the Lower South, 1850-1860* (Knoxville, 1969); Wooster, "Wealthy Texans, 1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXXI (October, 1967), 163-180; Llerena Friend, *Sam Houston, The Great Designer* (Austin, 1954); and Earl Wesley Fornell, *The Galveston Era: The Texas Crescent on the Eve of Secession* (Austin, 1961).

[4]See Friend, *Sam Houston;* W. J. Hughes, *Rebellious Ranger: Rip Ford and the Southwest* (Norman, 1964); Ben H. Procter, *Not Without Honor: The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin, 1962); and Alvy L. King, *Louis T. Wigfall, Southern Fire-eater* (Baton Rouge, 1970).

[5]See Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968), viii. Bailyn's sensitive study of American colonial political factions deserves to be emulated for nineteenth century factions.

[6]Oran M. Roberts, "The Political, Legislative, and Judical History of Texas for its Fifty Years of Statehood, 1845-1895," in *A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685 to 1897,* edited by Dudley C. Wooten (2 vols.; Dallas, 1898), II, 142.

[7]Ernest Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil: The Saga of Texas, 1849-1875* (Austin, 1965), 116; and Stephen B. Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* LXVII (October, 1963), 167-212.

[8]Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil,* 116.

[9]James M. Day (ed.), *Senate Journal of the Ninth Legislature of the State of Texas, November 4, 1861-January 14, 1862* (Austin, 1963), 6-9, cites the 1861 gubernatorial vote as Lubbock, 21,854; Clark, 21,730; and Chambers, 13,733 for a total of 57,317. Friend, *Sam Houston,* 345, cites the vote for Houston as 33,375 and Runnels as 27,500 for a total of 60,875. On the other hand, Ernest W. Winkler, "Platforms of Political Parties in Texas," *Bulletin of the University of Texas.* LIII (September, 1916), 645, lists the vote as 36,337 for Houston and 27,500 for Runnels for a total of 63,727. Winkler was probably Wallace's source for the 6,500 vote difference between 1859 and 1861. The vote on the Ordinance of Secession can be found in Winkler (ed.). *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (Austin, 1912), 88-91.

[10]See Day (ed.), *Senate Journal of the Ninth Legislature*, 6-9. The outcome of the election was so uncertain that Lubbock's wife advised him to enter Austin alone in the event that, should their information prove inaccurate, she would not be embarrassed. See Francis Richard Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas; or, Memoirs of Francis Richard Lubbock, Governor of Texas in Wartime, 1861-63* (ed. by C. W. Raines; Austin, 1900), 348.

[11]Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas*, 321-329

[12]Since Lubbock tended to omit certain details from his memoirs, the best source for his activities regarding filibusters and his agitation to re-open the African slave trade is Fornell, *The Galveston Era*, 203-259. See also Fornell, "Agitation in Texas for Reopening the Slave Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LX. (1956), 245-259; and Fornell, "Texans and Filibusters in the 1850's," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LIX (1956), 411-429.

[13]Justin Whitlock Dart, Jr., "Edward Clark, Governor of Texas March 16 to November 7, 1861" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Houston, 1954), 23, 100.

[14]The total gubernatorial vote in 1861 was 57,317, Day (ed.), *Senate Journal of the Ninth Legislature*, 9. The total vote cast in the 1863 gubernatorial election was 32,409; Murrah received 17,916 votes; Chambers received 13,003 votes. See James M. Day (ed.), *Senate Journal of the Tenth Legislature, Regular Session of the State of Texas, November 3, 1863-December 16, 1863* (Austin, 1964), 35-37.

[15]Wallace, *Texas in Turmoil*, 118; Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," 172. Roberts mentions no issues at all and implied the candidates shared similar views. See for example, Roberts, "The Political, Legislative, and Judicial History of Texas," 142-143.

[16]*Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 18 and June 25, 1863.

[17]*Tri-Weekly Gazette*, June 23, 1863. John Marshall, influential editor of the *State Gazette* during the 1850's, was killed in Virginia in June, 1862. See Walter Prescott Webb (ed.), *Handbook of Texas* (2 vols.; Austin, 1952), II, 148. David Richardson succeeded Marshall as editor.

[18]Robert Pattison Felgar, "Texas in the War for Southern Independence, 1861-1865" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1935), 453.

[19]*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (130 Vols.; Washington, D.C., 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part II, 86, 95.

[20]Peter W. Gray to William Pitt Ballinger, Richmond, Va., April 3, 1863, in William Pitt Ballinger Papers, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center Archives, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. In his letter Gray referred to a Joint Resolution adopted by the Texas Legislature, February 27, 1863. The resolution pledged Texas to pay her *pro rata* proportion of the Confederate debt should she at any time withdraw from the Confederacy. See H. P. N. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (10 vols.; Austin, 1898), V, 623.

[21]James E. Harrison to Ballinger, Camp Kiamiske, March 31, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[22]*Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 23, 1863.

[23]William Pitt Ballinger Diary (typescript), Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center Archives, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. See entries for March, April, May, 1863.

[24]Hill to Ballinger, Tyler, April 17, 1863, Ballinger Papers. Hill was in severe financial straits throughout the war; he was also hopeful of receiving an appointment to the Confederate States Supreme Court, which was never organized. These factors may have persuaded him to avoid elective office. For an account of some of Hill's wartime activities, see Nowlin Randolph, "Judge William Pinckney Hill Aids the Confederate War Effort," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXVIII (July, 1964), 14-28.

[25]Bryan to Ballinger, Waco, April 25, 1863, Ballinger Papers. John Gregg had been a delegate to the Texas Secession Convention and also to the Confederate Provisional Congress. See Webb (ed.), *Handbook of Texas*, I, 733.

[26]Ballinger Diary, April 3, May 2, 1863.

[27]Ballinger Diary, May 2, May 4, 1863.

[28]Ballinger Diary, May 4, 1863.

[29]N. N. John to Ballinger, Richmond, Texas, October 7, 1863, Ballinger Papers. John urged Ballinger to send a doctor to attend Potter, then near death. Guy M. Bryan, on General Smith's staff in Shreveport, had learned by October 22, 1863, that Potter was dead. Bryan wrote, "His loss will be felt in the Legislature and I don't know who will supply his place in the Legislature, for in looking over the names of the members there are very few old members there. I almost wish I were there myself when I contemplate the future in connection with bad & reckless legislation." Bryan to Ballinger, Shreveport, October 22, 24, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[30]For comments on Cushing's support of Murrah, see Felgar, "Texas in the War for Southern Independence," 458, and *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 25, 1863. Paschal implied that he supported Potter; see Paschal to Ballinger, Austin, May 4, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[31]McCulloch's friends withdrew his name by way of a letter published in the *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 18, 1863.

[32]Bryan to Ballinger, Shreveport, June 8, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[33]Ballinger Diary, May 4, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[34]*Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 18, 1863.

[35]"Good and proper men" and "good and true" are phrases running through Bryan's correspondence to Ballinger between April 25 and June 11, 1863.

[36]Bryan to Ballinger, Shreveport, June 8, 1863, Ballinger Papers.

[37]The Supreme Court election, 1864, is mentioned in J. H. Davenport, *The History of the Supreme Court of the State of Texas* (Austin, 1917), 72; and in Roberts, "The Political, Legislative, and Judicial History of Texas," 144. Frances Dora Ryan, "The Election Laws of Texas, 1827-1875," (unpublished MA thesis, University of Texas, 1922), 43, contended that during the Civil War the judges of the Supreme Court and the district courts were appointed rather than elected. Lelia Clark Wynn, "A History of the Civil Courts in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LX (July, 1956), 1-22, discusses the judicial section of the Texas Constitution of 1861 in ambiguous terms. The Constitution of 1861, however, like its predecessor, the amended Con-

stitution of 1845, authorized elections for judges, the attorney general, the comptroller, and the treasurer. See Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, V, 6-16.

[38]For a note on Wheeler's death, see Webb (ed.), *Handbook of Texas*, II, 891.

[39]*Ex parte* Coupland, 26 Tex (1861/63), 387-434. The case also appears in Charles L. Robards, *Synopses of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Texas, Rendered, Upon Application for Writs of Habeas Corpus, Original and on Appeal, Arising from Restraints by Conscript and Other Military Authorities* (Austin, 1865). For a brief discussion of the conscription issue in the Texas court, see Albert Burton Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (reprint; New York, 1963), 168-69.

[40]Fletcher S. Stockdale to Ballinger, Austin, May 15, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[41]Stockdale to Ballinger, Fort Bend County, April 21, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[42]Stockdale to Ballinger, Austin, May 15, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[43]Stockdale, broaching Ballinger on the possibility of his running for Chief Justice, called Ballinger an available candidate and added: "your availability arises from your capacity in the first place, and from your having been an old Whig originally opposed to secession now fully and deeply commited [sic] to the cause of the South." Stockdale to Ballinger, Fort Bend County, April 21, 1864, Ballinger Papers. Ballinger quickly burst this "trial balloon."

[44]Roberts to Ballinger, Tyler, April 29, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[45]Stockdale to Ballinger, Austin, May 15, 1864, Ballinger Papers. Among Roberts' special friends were Col. L. P. Butler, Representative from Smith County, Capt. Thos. Smith, Representative from Rusk County, and Dr. M. D. K. Taylor, Speaker of the House from Cass County. See Roberts to Ballinger, Tyler, April 30, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[46]Giddings to Ballinger, Brenham. May 2, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[47]Stockdale to Ballinger, Fort Bend County, April 21, 1864, Ballinger Papers. See also *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, June 27, 1863. Incomplete election returns for the Third Congressional District show that A. M. Branch defeated Gray's bid for re-election by a vote of 2,374 to 1,450. Although the records are incomplete, it is clear that Branch won the election; he even carried Harris County, Gray's resident county, by a margin of 726 to 469. These figures are based on Election Returns, 1863. Records of the Secretary State. Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. Andrew Forest Muir, "Peter W. Gray," *Handbook of Texas*, I, 723-24, asserts incorrectly that Gray was a member of the Confederate Congress throughout the war.

[48]Stockdale to Ballinger, Fort Bend County, April 21, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[49]Stockdale to Ballinger, April 21, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

[50]Roberts received 24,067 votes or 78%; Bell received 6,918 votes or 22%. Election Returns, 1864. Records of the Secretary of State. Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. According to the archivist, Ms. Marilyn von Kohl, there is no printed copy of the votes in either the Chief Justice or Associate Justice races. I tabulated the Associate Justice vote as follows: Reuben A. Reeves, 12,991; C. W. Buckley, 8,944; and John Sayles, 7,414. Judge Roberts carefully avoided any substantive discussion of the election in "The Political, Legislative, and Judicial History of Texas."

[51]This quote is in Roberts to Ballinger, Tyler, April 29, 1864, Ballinger Papers.

THE REFERENDUM IN TEXAS ON THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION, FEBRUARY 23, 1861: THE VOTE

by Joe T. Timmons

In a study of secession in Texas, over 110 years after the fact, an effort to check the results of the popular vote on secession leads to the conclusion that in the stress of the times there were inaccuracies in recording the actual votes *for* and *against* secession. The researcher finds quite interesting the errors that were made and has noted some omissions of returns. One wonders if in the age of mechanical tabulation and computers the same slips might appear?

The official recordings of votes by the Secretary of State, the MS "Journal of the Secession Convention in Texas, 1861," the edited *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861,* contemporary accounts, and twentieth-century histories are all in error in stating the total votes cast, when compared to the extant MSS Election Returns.[1] The student of secession in Texas is confronted with a dismaying array of figures representing the votes on the Ordinance of Secession. The errors began with the "official" recordings, and many of them have persisted to the present through careless accounting or by merely accepting one or another "authority's" figures, both unpublished and published, without checking the official MSS Election Returns. Over the years the discrepancies which appear in the historians' figures on the votes cast are so interesting that the reader can but wonder on what sources they relied. John J. Linn, in his *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas,* says the vote was 38,415 for and 13,841 against secession. John Henry Brown approximates "a little over forty-six thousand for and a little over thirteen thousand against." Frank Brown may have used the figures given in the Galveston *Civilian and Gazette,* April 2, 1861, and reported 44,317 for and 13,020 against. Lubbock's *Six Decades in Texas* has exactly one thousand more votes for secession than did Linn. Charles W. Ramsdell's *Reconstruction in Texas* makes the count 44,317 for and 13,020 against. Frank W. Johnson, in *A History of Texas and Texans* (edited by Ernest W. Winkler), gives the vote: for 46,129 and 14,697 against secession, corresponding to the figures given in the Winkler *Journal.*[2] There is, likewise, a variety of incorrect data presented in some of the local histories which follow the older references. Particular discrepancies appear in the vote totals cited for Bell, Fayette, and Tarrant Counties.[3]

File 2-13/311, Archives Division, Texas State Library, contains the MSS Election Returns from 122 counties, with supplemental returns for several of them, for the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession. This study is based on these returns along with a careful comparison of the MSS Executive Record Book, Secretary of State, a check of the MS "Journal of the Secession Convention in Texas, 1861," a close inspection of the printed *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861,* and a search of the Miscellaneous Papers of the Secession Convention, MSS Certificates of Election for Delegates to the Secession Convention.[4]

The MS "Journal" was not a stenographic record of the proceedings of the Secession Convention; it appears to have been "edited" or transcribed after the event. The give-and-take of debate is not evident, and the document is too neatly written; cross-outs and interlineations do not appear. James H. Bell, an ardent Unionist, and an Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, had not been admitted to the Convention during secret session, though certain other non-delegates (secessionists) had

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been admitted. In a letter written March 2, 1861, to John A. Wharton, Bell observed: "I did not wish any friend of mine to move to expunge from the journals any thing that appeared there about [not] admitting me to a seat in the body during secret session." Bell continued: "You told me you had yourself been instrumental in having the journals made to appear silent about the matter." Bell assured Wharton that his "feelings were in no way wounded," and he concluded: "I did not desire that any one, *speaking for me, or understood to express any wish of mine,* should move to alter the journals."[5]

The "Journal" was not kept "open" for the tabulation of late returns "until the 15th inst." [March] as the delegates had provided.[6] A study of the MSS Election Returns discloses that one return was dated February 20 (El Paso), five were executed on February 23, three on February 24, thirty-one were made on February 25, sixty-eight returns were completed on February 26, eight were dated February 27, with supplemental returns from both Parker and Bosque bearing that date also; one return was prepared on February 28, as was the supplemental report from Erath; the Ellis County return had no date other than "this February." The returns from Hardin and Hill were not dated. Harris County submitted a supplemental return on March 4. The return from Cass County was executed on March 6. Therefore, all of the 122 reporting counties seem to have completed the returns, and made supplemental vote reports, well in advance of the March 15 date. However, neither the MS "Journal of the Secession Convention in Texas, 1861," nor the edited *Journal* tabulated all of these returns. It is obvious that a careful study of the MSS Election Returns and a comparison of them with the tabulations made by the Secretary of State and the entries in the MS "Journal" would have prevented many of the errors that appear in the printed *Journal*.[7]

Was the February 23, 1861, referendum a "full poll"?[8] Was it a "fair" representation of the "will of the people"? The vote was taken after unionists and secessionists had taken extreme positions. The political climate had become highly charged through several weeks of intense debate on the future course Texas should take. Under such conditions, it may have been impossible for Texans to make an intelligent, reasoned decision at the ballot box. Extremists among the secessionists considered the break-up of the Union inevitable, while certain unionists pleaded in vain for Texas to remain in the Union and defend her position under the Federal Constitution. Some wanted Texas to join a "Southern Confederacy." Others looked to the rebirth of the Lone Star Republic.[9] *The Texas Almanac for 1862* has an interesting account of the confusion in the minds of the voters on the eve of the referendum:

> Pending the brief period between the passage of the Ordinance of Secession by the Convention and its ratification by the people, and up to the time of the final annexation by Texas to the Southern Confederacy, the Lone Star flag, the former emblem of our independence as a Republic, was generally used all over the State in evidence of the almost universal desire to resume our State Sovereignty. There were numbers in various parts of the State, embracing many of the early settlers, who took active measures to organize what was called Lone Star Associations, advocating the re-establishment of the Republic of Texas in opposition to annexation to the Southern Confederacy.[10]

Gideon Lincecum had advocated secession, but when he learned the Convention had sent off delegates to Montgomery, Alabama, he denounced the Convention in bitter words:

> See what the late, damnable convention has done, not withstanding the fact that it is almost diametrically in opposition to the object

> for which they were elected, a large majority of the people, in their stultified condition, cry Amen, and will sanction the doings of the said, hell deserving, convention at the coming election by an overwhel[m]ing majority. Well, let them all go to ruin together, while I shall try to learn myself not to grieve about it.[11]

Before proceeding with an analysis of the referendum of February 23, 1861, it is pertinent to comment briefly on the Presidential election held in Texas on November 6, 1860. It was bitterly contested; the issues drawn were "secession" or "submission" and the campaign resulted in the largest voter response in any of the elections of the pre-Civil War period, except for the gubernatorial contest of 1859.[12] Since this election was so important and the secessionists took the results as a "mandate," it is proper to ask: was the election legally held and were the votes properly recorded? Fifty-one countries reported total votes that represented a voter participation of 70 per cent or greater. [See Table 2, for the votes cast and voter strengths.] All returned majorities for Breckinridge and Lane electors. In seven counties (Hamilton, Kaufman, Live Oak, Marion, Parker, Wharton, and Wood) the percentages of voter response exceeded 100 per cent; thirty-one counties registered a voter turnout of 70.0-79.9 per cent; ten counties reported an 80.0-89.9 per cent performance; and three counties had a voter turnout of 90.0-99.9 per cent. Six of the counties having a voter involvement of 70 per cent or greater in the Presidential election rejected secession on February 23; all the others supported secession by large majorities, except for Lampasas, where the vote was close—85 "for" and 75 "against" secession. The total vote cast in the Presidential election by the fifty-one counties (that reported a voter involvement of 70 per cent or greater) was 32,456, or 50.7 per cent of the entire vote of the State. The seven counties having a voter turnout of more than 100 per cent of the possible number of "qualified electors" cast 5.7 per cent of the total vote. The six counties (having a voter participation of more than 70 per cent) that ultimately rejected secession on February 23, cast only 8.8 per cent of the total Presidential vote. It is difficult to believe that so many of the counties were able to achieve such a "full" poll on November 6, 1860. Was there manipulation of the vote in that election?

Examination of the votes cast in the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession, contrasted with the total votes cast in Texas in the Presidential election, gives rise to some speculation and quite valid conclusions. Relating the votes reported in the referendum to an approximation of voter strengths determined for the several counties discloses that in many instances the referendum poll was too "full"! Table 1 is a comparison of the votes tabulated in the edited *Journal* with the MSS Election Returns for the February 23, 1861, vote on the Ordinance of Secession; the discrepancies are explained in detail by county in footnote c to Table 1. Generally, both the MS "Journal" and the edited *Journal* failed to include those returns that were executed after February 26 (the report date required by law and which also was printed at the bottom of the report form), and were not received by the Convention by March 4, the date the votes were canvassed. Since the Convention had gone on record that the "Journal" should be kept open until March 15 (inorder to include any late returns), editing of the "Journal" should have included all these late and supplemental returns. Table 2 presents a study of voter participation in both the Presidential Election and the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession. There were 2,983 fewer votes cast on February 23, 1861, than for Presidential Electors. The secessionist ranks suffered the greater defection: -2,201 votes cast on February 23, as compared to the vote for those Electors who stood for Breckinridge and Lane; the unionists also had fewer supporters on February 23: -782 votes "against" secession (but counting such votes as "Lone Star" and "Union") than had been registered for Bell and Everett Electors. Only

Bandera, Gillespie, and Starr Counties had supported the unionist ticket on November 6, 1860, but Bandera and Starr switched to "For Secession" on February 23, Seventeen counties (Angelina, Bastrop, Blanco, Burnet, Collin, Cooke, Fannin, Fayette, Grayson, Jack, Lamar, Mason, Medina, Montague, Travis, Uvalde, and Williamson) that had returned majorities for Breckinridge and Lane, switched their votes—opposing secession in the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession. Gillespie was the model of consistency; it was the only county that returned majorities for Bell and Everett and then voted against secession on February 23. Although the secessionists suffered a greater defection from their ranks (a + 4,209 voted "For Secession" and a - 6,410 either switched votes or "stayed home," for a decreased "secessionist vote" of - 2,201), the unionists were unable to reverse the tide running since the previous summer. Perhaps many of those who supported Breckinridge and Lane in 1860 did so because they believed John Bell did not have a chance for victory on the national scene. But when the testing time arrived, on principle, they rejected secession. "Old Sam" (unquestionably the leading unionist in Texas), for example, supported the "Union ticket" as a matter of principle, but he liked "Breckinridge more than either of the other candidates in the field," but he did not believe Lincoln could be defeated unless Breckinridge stood on a Union platform or principle. Houston rather quickly disposed of John Bell:

> As for Mr. Bell, I regard him as a slim chance for a President, and I would not *directly vote* for him, although he voted against the Nebraska Bill. There is a tale to that! So you see that I do not go for man, or men, but for principle, ...[13]

TABLE 1
COMPARISON OF VOTES ON THE ORDINANCE OF SECESSION

	—Journal*—		—MSS Election Returns†—				—Journal*—		—MSS Election Returns†—		
County‡	For	Against	For	Against	Other	County‡	For	Against	For	Against	Other
Anderson	870	15	870	15		Fort Bend	486	none	486	000	
Angelina	139	184	139	184		Freestone	585	3	585	3	
Atascosa	145	91	145	91		Galveston	765	33	765	33	
Austin	825	212	825	212		Gillespie	16	398	16	398	
Bandera	33	32	33	32		Goliad	291	25	291	25	+16
Bastrop	335	352	335	352		Gonzales	802	80	802	80	
Bee	139	16	139	16		Grayson	463	901	463	901	
Bell	495	198	456	198		Grimes	907	9	907	9	+1
Bexar	827	709	827	709		Guadalupe	314	22	314	22	
Blanco	86	170	108	170		Hamilton	86	1	86	1	
Bosque	233	81	223	79		Hardin	167	62	167	62	
Bowie	268	15	268	15		Harris	1084	144	1128	163	
Brazoria	527	2	527	2		Harrison	886	44	866	44	
Brazos	215	44	215	44		Hays	166	115	166	115	−1
Brown	75	none	16			Henderson	400	49	397	48	
Burleson	422	84	422	84		Hidalgo	62	10	62	10	
Burnet	159	248	157	248		Hill	376	63	376	63	
Caldwell	434	188	434	188		Hopkins	697	315	697	315	+8
Calhoun	276	16	276	16		Houston	552	38	552	38	
Cameron	600	37	600	37		Hunt	416	339	416	339	
Cass	423	32	423	32		Jack	14	76	14	76	
Chambers	78	6	109	26	+5	Jackson	147	77	147	77	
Cherokee	1106	38	1106	38		Jasper	318	25	318	25	
Collin	405	948	405	948		Jefferson	256	15	256	15	
Colorado	584	330	584	330		Johnson	531	31	531	31	
Comal	239	86	239	86		Karnes	153	1	153	1	
Comanche	86	4	86	4		Kaufman	461	155	461	155	
Cooke	137	221	137	221		Kerr	76	57	76	57	
Coryell	293	55	293	55		Lamar	553	663	553	663	
Dallas	741	237	741	237		Lampasas	85	75	85	75	
Denton	331	256	331	256		Lavaca	592	36	592	36	
De Witt	472	49	472	49		Leon	534	82	534	82	
Ellis	527	172	527	172		Liberty	422	10	422	10	
El Paso	871	2	871	2		Limestone	525	9	525	9	
Erath	179	16	185	27		Live Oak	141	9	141	9	
Falls	215	82	215	82		Llano	134	72	150	72	
Fannin	471	656	471	656		McLennan	586	191	586	191	
Fayette	580	626	580	626		Madison	213	10	213	10	

	—Journal*—		—MSS Election Returns†—				—Journal*—		—MSS Election Returns†—		
County‡	For	Against	For	Against	Other	County‡	For	Against	For	Against	Other
Marion	467	none	467			Smith	1149	50	1149	50	
Mason	2	75	2	75		Starr	180	2	180	2	
Matagorda	243	8	243	8		Tarrant	462	127	499	132	
Medina	140	207	140	207		Titus	411	275	411	275	
Milam	468	135	468	135		Travis	450	704	450	704	
Montague	50	86	50	86		Trinity	206	8	206	8	
Montgomery	318	98	318	98		Tyler	417	4	417	4	
Nacogdoches	317	94	317	94	−11	Upshur	957	57	957	57	
Navarro	621	38	621	38		Uvalde	16	76	16	76	
Newton	178	3	178	3		Van Zandt	181	127	181	127	
Nueces	142	42	142	42	+4	Victoria	313	88	313	88	
Orange	142	3	142	3		Walker	490	61	490	61	
Palo Pinto	107	none	107			Washington	1131	43	1131	43	
Panola	557	5	556	5		Webb	70	none	70		
Parker	535	61	535	61		Wilson	92	21	92	21	
Polk	567	22	567	22		Wise	76	78	78	76	
Red River	347	284	347	284		Wharton	249	2	249	2	
Refugio	142	14	142	14		Williamson	349	480	349	480	
Robertson	391	76	391	76		Wood	451	191	451	191	+1
Rusk	1376	135	1376	135							
Sabine	143	18	143	18							
San Augustine	243	22	243	22		San Saba	113	60	113	60	
San Patricio	56	3	56	3	+4	Young	166	31	166	31	
Shelby	333	28	333	28		Zapata	212	none	212		
						Totals:	46,129	14,697	46,153	14,747	+51
						Camp Hunter, Coleman County-					+13
											46,166

*Ernest W. Winkler (ed.), *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861*. pp. 88-90. At the end of the tabulation appears the following: "154 counties in all; 30 unorganized; 2 organized counties not heard from, viz: McCulloch and Presidio." Although no official returns have ever been located for Presidio County, there is an "unofficial" report. In a letter dated March 1, 1861, Daniel Murphy wrote to E. M. Pease: "The Vote pold [sic] in Precedio [sic] del Norte for the union is 316. The Vote pold in Fort Davis 48 for the union making in total in Precedio County 364 Votes for the union." Pease Family Papers, Austin-Travis County Collection, Austin Public Library, Austin, Texas.

†File 2-13/311, MSS Election Returns, February 23, 1861, Archives Division, Texas State Library. Tabulation of these extant returns indicates a total vote of 60,964; for secession - 46,166; against secession - 14,747, and 39 votes of the "other" category "for the Union." Eight of the votes in the "other" category were cast "against Separate Secession & infavor Southern Confederacy." Four votes were designated "scattering." Camp Hunter, Coleman County, voted "For Secession 13" and "Against Secession —." This document was filed in the Miscellaneous Papers of the Secession Convention, MSS Election Certificates for Delegates to the Secession Convention, Archives Division, Texas State Library. Ernest W. Winkler (ed.), *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861*, Appendix IV, 409-52, has reproductions of these documents; on p. 442 the Camp Hunter Election Certificate appears. However, the vote "For Secession" shown there is not recorded in the edited *Journal* in the tabulation of Election Returns, pp. 88-90.

‡The differences in the votes tabulated in the printed *Journal* and in the MSS Election Returns are explained by county in the following:

Bell County: The return on the printed form was clearly written; the Secretary of State also recorded the vote: "For Secession 456" and "Against Secession 198."

Blanco County: a separate sheet in the file indicates an additional return was made: 22 votes "for secession." It appears that the Secretary of State received this

document, but added 22 votes to each of the original figures "For" and "Against" secession; whereas, the printed *Journal* does not reflect the 22 additional votes.

Bosque County: A supplemental return reported 25 additional votes "For Secession" from Childress Creek Box and Cyprus Box, and 11 additional votes "Against Secession" from these precincts. The votes on the original return and the supplemental report add to no more than 223 "For Secession" and 79 "Against Secession." These are also the totals recorded by the Secretary of State.

Brown County: The return on ruled paper listed by name the sixteen individuals who voted "For Secession." A stroke count showing sixteen votes follows the names. Eight of these have been identified in the MSS Schedules, Eighth United States Census, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants [Microfilm, Texas A&I University Library]. The Census indicates a possible total of 63 "qualified electors." Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), "State of Texas, Table No. 1.—Population by Age and Sex," pp. 472-73, indicates there were 133 males enumerated in Brown County, but 67 were "under 1" through age 19.

Burnet County: the return is clearly written as "157" and this is the same vote recorded by the Secretary of State.

Chambers County: the *Journal* tabulated only the Wallisville precinct vote; the original return and supplemental returns for Wallisville and Cedar Bayou also reported the votes of Old River and Double Bayou for substantially higher figures.

Erath County: a supplemental report for precincts 4 and 6 has a "P.S." recap of the total votes.

Goliad County: At the bottom of the printed form, written in Chief Justice William N. Fant's hand, appears the additional vote: *"For the Glorious Union 16 Votes."*

Grimes County: A second return shows: "Union 1 vote."

Harris County: On February 27 a manuscript return was submitted with the notation "no return" for Precincts 7, 10, 11, 13, and 15; on March 4 the printed form was executed with the entry: "Since 26th Feby additional came in 'For Secession' 44 [and] 'Against Secession' 19," with new totals shown.

Harrison County: the figure "eight hundred and eighty six" has been very distinctly written over to read "eight hundred sixty six" votes. The correction appears to have been made by the person preparing the form. The Secretary of State tabulated the vote for secession as "866," obviously noting the corrected figure.

Hays County: at the bottom margin of the form appears: "One Vote for the Union."

Henderson County: the return on the printed form gave the vote: "For Secession 397" and "Against Secession 48." At the time the writer examined the MSS Election Returns there was no additional return in the file for Henderson County. The Secretary of State tabulated the returns as shown on the printed form.

Hopkins County: the manuscript return reported the vote in a third category: "Against Separate Secession & infavor Southern Confederacy 8 votes."

Llano County: a supplemental return gave the new totals, which was also the vote tabulated by the Secretary of State.

Nacogdoches County: the manuscript return reported a third category: "For the Union 11."

Nueces County: the return, entirely in manuscript, reported a third category: "Scattering 4."

Panola County: although the total "557 For Secession" is given in the manuscript return, the votes, by precincts, add to no more than 556.

San Patricio County: the manuscript return reported a third category: "For Union 4 Votes."

Tarrant County: a supplemental return gave the new totals, which were also the votes recorded by the Secretary of State.

Wise County: the return, entirely in manuscript, clearly reported the votes: "Against Secession 76" and "For Secession 78," in that order; careless reading of the document caused the figures to be transposed in the printed *Journal!*

Wood County: the manuscript return reported a third category: "Lone Star 1."

TABLE 2

VOTER PARTICIPATION IN TEXAS: 1860/61

County	Electors*	2/23/61 Total Vote No.†	%	11/6/60 Total Vote No.‡	%
Anderson	1517	885	58.3	966	63.7
Angelina	769	323	42.0	335	43.6
Atascosa	379	236	62.3	215	56.7
Austin	1670	1037	62.1	552	33.1
Bandera	106	65	61.3	38	35.8
Bastrop	1045	687	65.7	617	59.0
Bee	196	155	79.1	145	74.0
Bell	851	654	76.9	679	79.8
Bexar†	3780	1536	40.6	1279	33.8
Blanco	296	278	93.9	164	55.4
Bosque	409	302	73.8	265	47.9
Bowie	589	283	48.0	450	76.4
Brazoria	625	529	86.0	455	72.8
Brazos	453	259	57.2	296	65.3
Brown	63	16	25.4	48	76.2
Buchanan	58				
Burleson	855	506	59.2	616	72.0
Burnet	475	405	85.3	284	59.8
Caldwell	672	622	92.6	551	82.0
Calhoun	739	292	39.5	533	72.1
Cameron	1885	637	33.8	417	22.1
Cass	1093	455	41.6	770	70.4
Chambers	220	140	63.6	126	57.3
Cherokee	1335	1144	85.7	1066	79.9
Clay	48				
Collin	1865	1353	72.5	1369	73.4
Coleman	[no Census Rins]	13			
Colorado	1216	914	75.2	963	79.2
Comal	918	325	35.4	223	24.3
Comanche	141	90	63.8	113	80.1
Cooke	768	358	46.6	401	52.2
Coryell	510	348	68.2	335	65.7
Dallas	1844	978	53.0	1146	62.1
Dawson	131				
Denton	1101	587	53.3	775	70.4
De Witt	849	521	61.4	574	67.6
Eastland	27				
Ellis	1000	699	69.9	622	62.2
El Paso	1702	873	51.3	1053	61.9
Encinal	11				
Erath	491	212	43.2	233	47.5
Falls	457	297	65.0	246	53.8
Fannin	1670	1127	67.5	1155	69.2
Fayette	1371	1206	88.0	1187	86.6
Fort Bend	620	486	78.4	400	64.5
Freestone	761	588	77.3	638	83.8
Frio	14				
Galveston	2235	798	35.7	1015	45.4
Gillespie	661	414	62.6	136	20.6
Goliad	637	332	52.1	379	59.5
Gonzales	1244	882	70.9	862	69.3
Grayson	1618	1364	84.3	1217	75.2
Grimes	1264	917	72.5	809	64.0
Guadalupe	862	336	39.0	385	44.7
Hamilton	116	87	75.0	116	100.0
Hardin	264	229	86.7	247	93.6
Harris	2244	1291	57.5	1393	62.1
Harrison	1493	910	61.0	1069	71.6
Hays	322	282	87.6	296	91.9
Henderson	768	445	57.9	584	76.0
Hidalgo	330	72	21.8	64	19.4
Hill	699	439	62.8	521	74.5
Hopkins	1156	1020	88.2	1083	93.7
Houston	1203	590	49.1	574	47.7
Hunt	1292	755	58.4	947	73.3
Jack	231	90	39.0	136	58.9
Jackson	401	224	55.9	296	73.8
Jasper	508	343	67.5	356	70.1
Jefferson	514	271	52.7	342	66.5
Johnson	881	562	63.8	505	57.3
Karnes	496	154	31.0	223	45.0
Kaufman	772	616	79.8	832	107.8
Kerr	197	133	67.5	117	59.4
Kinney	18				
Lamar	1680	1216	72.4	1123	66.8
Lampasas	205	160	78.0	152	74.1
Lavaca	973	628	64.5	706	72.6
Leon	987	616	62.4	714	72.3
Liberty	563	432	76.7	351	62.3
Limestone	793	534	67.3	522	65.8
Live Oak	144	150	104.2	147	102.1
Llano	244	222	91.0	201	82.4
McLennan	966	777	80.4	726	75.2
Madison	363	223	61.4	258	71.1
Marion	579	467	80.7	630	108.8
Mason	204	77	37.7	18	8.8
Matagorda	402	251	62.4	203	50.5
Maverick	354				
Medina	455	347	76.3	190	41.8
Milam	847	603	71.2	648	76.5
Montague	182	136	74.7	152	83.5
Montgomery	624	416	66.7	376	60.3
Nacogdoches	1350	422	31.3	572	42.4
Navarro	1003	659	65.7	664	66.2
Newton	442	181	41.0	112	25.3
Nueces	757	188	24.8	169	22.3
Orange	462	145	31.4	135	29.2
Palo Pinto	332	107	32.2	158	47.6
Panola	1187	561	47.3	650	54.8
Parker	853	596	69.9	941	110.3
Polk	942	589	62.5	624	66.2
Presidio	340				
Red River	1315	631	48.0	825	62.7
Refugio	325	156	48.0	200	61.5
Robertson	662	467	70.5	437	66.0
Rusk	2173	1511	69.5	1668	76.7
Sabine	356	161	45.2	245	68.8
San Augustine	519	265	51.1	253	48.7
San Patricio	151	63	41.7	67	44.4
San Saba	189	173	91.5	154	81.5
Shelby	835	361	43.2	514	61.6
Shackleford	5				
Smith	1888	1199	63.5	1503	79.6
Starr	717	182	25.4	146	20.4
Tarrant	1277	631	49.4	826	64.7
Throckmorton	34				

County	Electors*	2/23/61 Total Vote No.†	%	11/6/60 Total Vote No.‡	%
Titus	1579	686	43.4	1163	73.7
Travis	1277	1154	90.4	1101	79.2
Trinity	712	214	30.1	245	34.4
Tyler	697	421	60.4	504	72.3
Upshur	1557	1014	65.1	1279	82.1
Uvalde	164	92	56.1	101	61.6
Van Zandt	731	308	42.1	364	49.8
Victoria	778	401	51.5	328	42.2
Walker	1086	551	50.7	660	60.8
Washington	1937	1174	60.6	1079	55.7
Webb	384	70	18.2	77	20.1
Wharton	227	251	110.6	236	104.0
Williamson	816	829	101.6	713	87.4
Wilson	[Bexar Census]	113		117	
Wise	661	154	23.3	258	39.0
Wood	758	643	84.8	768	101.3
Young	137	197	143.8	109	79.6
Zapata	187	212	113.4	151	80.7
Zavala	9				
Totals:	102,297	60,964	59.6	63,947	62.5

*These figures are approximations of the "qualified electors" in each county determined in the following manner. In Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), "State of Texas. Table No. 1—Population by Age and Sex, White," pp. 472-77 are tabulated the population by age groups. The total white male population is given for each county on pp. 473, 475, and 477. By subtracting from these totals the males shown in the columns "under 1, 1 and under 5, 5 and under 10, 10 and under 15, 15 and under 20," and assuming that one-tenth of the males shown in the column "20 and under 30" were 20 years of age (and therefore not elegible to vote), the resulting figures give the males 21 years of age and older. Perhaps more exact figures might be determined by examining all the MSS Census Returns, Schedule I, Free Inhabitants. This process has not been completed for all the counties, but a random sampling of fifteen counties validates these approximations. The actual count of males 21 years and older, in the state one year and in the county six months (using the childladder method) in these fifteen counties closely correlates with the numbers of qualified electors determined by using the figures in the compilation cited above. The total "qualified electors" determined from the compilation figures for these counties was 9,313; the actual count from the Census Returns was 9,224—a difference of 89, or an error factor of less than one per cent.

†Recorded in this column are the total votes cast in the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession, for and against secession (see Table 1, above, MSS Election Returns).

‡MSS Secretary of State Executive Record Book, pp. 147-50, File 2-13/328, Archives Division, Texas State Library. The official tabulation by county of the returns for Presidential Electors is an interesting document. Texas was entitled to four electors. It appears that most counties permitted the voter to ballot for four individuals, instead of voting one time for a list or slate of electors. The Secretary of State recorded the votes cast for each individual and added them. The total vote for each slate was divided by four. The figures thus obtained were then announced as the "results" of the election! Malcolm D. Graham, Thomas N. Waul, A. T. Rainey, and John A. Wharton ran on the Breckinridge and Lane slate, and William Steadman, George W. Paschal, Benjamin H. Epperson, and John H. Robson stood as candidates on the Bell and Everett ticket. A recap by individual candidate of the total votes cast in the November 6, 1860, election appears on p. 150; only the votes for Steadman and Robson were correctly added, and the division is incorrect. The figures used in Table 2 were

derived by using the highest vote cast for each slate of four candidates for the Electoral College; in this manner the writer has arrived at the following totals:

Breckinridge and Lane Electors— 48,367 votes
Bell and Everett Electors— 15,580 votes

Total: 63,947 votes

*Wilson District was enumerated in the Bexar County Census Returns. Therefore, adding the two together the voter participation percentages would be:

	Electors	2/23/61 Vote	Voter Participation %	11/6/60 Vote	Voter Participation %
Bexar	3780	1536		1279	
Wilson		113		117	
Combined:		1649	43.6	1396	36.9

Of the total vote cast on February 23, 1861, 75.7 per cent was "For Secession."[14] But the question remains: was the vote legitimate in the sense of being properly held and correctly recorded? Sixty-nine counties reported a smaller vote at the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession than in the election for Presidential Electors. Fifty-three counties returned a larger vote at the later election (see Table 2). The median voter participation in the February 23, 1861, referendum was 62.4 per cent; in the Presidential election the median was 65.8 per cent. The larger vote cast than there were possible "qualified electors" in Live Oak, Wharton, Young, and Zapata Counties (these four counties supported secession by 94.8 per cent of the vote they reported!) certainly seems to suggest irregularities in the voting as certain unionists had charged.[15] In Williamson County the vote against secession was 57.9 per cent of the total vote reported, but again the number who voted possibly exceeded the body of legitimate electors. If there were discrepancies in the votes reported in these five counties (those having a voter participation of more than 100 per cent of the possible electors), is not one justified in questioning also the vote recorded in those counties where the voter turnout exceeded, say, 70 per cent? In a frontier society (concerned with Indian depredations, drought, crop failures, and a multitude of other problems), having a widely-scattered, sparsely-settled population in many areas, was it possible to muster such a vote?

There were thirty-three counties that voted for secession whose voter participation exceeded 70 per cent of the possible qualified electors. Their combined vote for secession was 81.9 per cent of the total vote they reported. In eight counties that opposed secession the voter participation was also more than 70 per cent, but the combined vote of these counties against secession was only 59.0 per cent of the total vote they returned. Including the five counties in which there was a voter participation of more than 100 per cent of the possible qualified electors, the vote, therefore, in thirty-eight counties is rather questionable. These represent more than one-fourth of the 122 reporting counties. Their combined votes for and against secession aggregated 21,105, or 34.6 per cent of the total vote cast on February 23, 1861![16]

Why did Texans vote to sever the ties of Union? The decision at the ballot box for disunion cannot be explained simply in a phrase or two. Several factors seem to

have influenced the voters, and confused some of them, when they went to the polls on February 23.[17] A determined band of disunionists, out in the open for the first time after Abraham Lincoln's election became known in Texas, merely overwhelmed the unionists. The secessionists had a plan; they were ably led by a group in high position, though the "movers" of secession were generally outside the government; they controlled the important instruments of propaganda—the leading newspapers of the State and the Democratic Party machinery. They widely publicized their position in the press, private correspondence, speeches, and secessionist literature—playing on the fears, emotions, and prejuduces of a frightened people. Oran M. Roberts retained a copy of a letter he wrote to Messrs. James H. Fry, George W. White, and others, dated December 3, 1860, in reply to the group's request for a copy of Roberts' December 1 speech on the "Impending Crisis." A notation was made in pencil, in Roberts' hand, that 4,000 copies were printed and distributed over the State. William P. Rogers wrote to Roberts on December 16, 1860, "*Private*—our plan meets with general approval." Gil McKay in a letter to Roberts on December 26, 1860, observed: "There are very few submissionists in this Section [Marshall]." And he quite correctly continued: "I would suggest the propriety of sending large numbers of copies of your Speech to the Northern Counties." On January 4, 1861, Malcolm D. Graham advised Roberts: "I received the package of your speeches and distributed them. The Speech meets with very general approval."[18] The *Texas State Gazette*, published at Austin, on February 16, 1861, carried an "Open Letter, O. M. Roberts, President of the Convention, to the People of Texas" (letter not dated); it was an appeal for the people to sustain the Convention at the ballot box on February 23; since the newspaper enjoyed a wide circulation, it was intended in this manner to reach as many of the voters as possible.

There is no doubt that the secessionists played on the fears, emotions, and prejudices of the people. Commenting on accounts of incendiarism and an alledged abolitionist plot in Texas, as early as August 25, 1860, the *San Antonio Ledger and Texan* had observed: "the celebrated John Brown raid was mere child's play, in comparison with the state of things which now exists in Texas." The February 23, 1861, issue of the *Texas State Gazette* was a particularly rank appeal to racial prejudice; an open letter "To the Working Men of Travis County" charged that Abraham Lincoln was the "apostle of freesoilism and abolitionism in its [sic] worst forms," and John Marshall's editorial closed: "are [you] willing to tolerate social and political equality with the negro? Are you willing that they shall control you by their votes? Are you willing that the white and negro races shall amalgamate?"[19]

The secessionists manipulated the election and they coerced and silenced their opponents. N. B. Ellis, who had travelled extensively as Assistant Marshall enumerating the Census in the summer of 1860, wrote to O.M. Roberts on January 4, 1861, from Comanche: "We will have an Election [for delegates to the Convention] in this County on the 8th inst. We have not more than 2 or 3 Southern tories in this County, & I am sorry to think that there are that number." Ellis rather incorrectly observed: "The frontier is almost unanimous for Secession. What few Southern tories [there are] among us, are afraid to cheep . . . "[20] Was there coercion?

On the other hand, a band of valiant unionists desperately fought to keep Texas in the Union. They failed because they could not find a leader.[21] The unionists also failed to put the real issue across to the electorate: was the Union worth preserving? Fort Sumter destroyed the unionists' dreams of reconciliation and it also ended their efforts to re-establish Texas as an independent nation-state.[22]

Secession in Texas carried because of secondary considerations. Fears of a general slave uprising, recollections (often faulty) of burning towns and private prop-

erties put to the torch, and prejudices towards the Negro certainly figured in the decision for separation.[23] The rugged individualism that characterized the frontier society of Texas definitely surfaced. Texans, such as James W. Throckmorton, would not be coerced,[24] and they hastened to "go out [of the Union] before Lincoln's inauguration."[25]

Perhaps most Texans who voted that fateful February day did not realize they were engaging in the "Second Texas Revolution."[26] As in the first, they were unprepared for war. When it came, many Texans thought that the war they believed the North had started in the Abolitionist Crusade would end quickly on terms favorable to Texas and the South.[27] They expected the economics of cotton and the vital Mississippi River life-line to work to their advantage.

Rather than lauding the referendum of February 23, 1861, in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession as the outpouring of an overwhelming sentiment of a united people, perhaps one should consider suspect the votes that were reported. A detailed study (which limitations of space obviate at this time) of the "campaign period," February 1-23, suggests there were concerted efforts made by the secessionists to win the support of the electorate. Not quite certain of ultimate success at the polls in a secret ballot, the secessionists insisted on a *viva voce* vote (to intimidate?), a deviation from the customary "paper ballot" or "ticket." Perhaps certain election officials "padded" the vote they returned, for the majorities some counties reported for secession were too close to, or in excess of, 100 per cent to be accepted at face value.

The decision for secession closed a sad chapter in Texas history. It was the threshold of a worse fate: loss of life, depreciation of properties (primarily in the loss of slaves), privation, and want. Few that day dared foretell the future: war and ultimate subjugation, and a period of reconstruction so replete with rancor, bitterness, and hate that it was regarded then, and since, as an era of "dictatorship" and "Radical Republican Rule" not soon to be forgotten. An observation made in 1863, though, proved rather prophetic:

> The man who prophesies even at this day, the end of the present troubles, risks his reputation for sanity, but if there be any certainty in Heaven or on earth the present Southern Confederacy must perish—it is founded on no principle of liberty or right—it is the work of satanic ambition, and terrible will be its end.[28]

NOTES

[1]The most obvious error is the vote recorded for Wise County. The return was entirely in manuscript on plain paper (see File 2-13/311, MSS Election Returns, February 23, 1861, Archives Division, Texas State Library) rather than on the printed form which provided for the reporting of the vote "For Secession" in a blank to the left and "Against Secession" in a blank to the right of the document. Wise County was the only one to reverse the reporting order—"Against Secession 76" and "For Secession 78." None of the official tabulations noted this reversed order of reporting the vote. In Ernest W. Winkler (ed.), *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (Austin, 1912), 90, the Wise County vote is tabulated, but not in the proper order as shown on the MS Election Return.

[2]The Secretary of State's tabulation of the votes may be found in MSS Secretary of State, Executive Record Book, File 2-13/328, Archives Division, Texas State Library. On pp. 22-23 the individual county votes are recorded, but the total of the votes given in this source is 13,903 "Against Secession," not 13,894, as shown on p. 223. The MS "Journal of the Secession Convention in Texas, 1861," is located in File 2-7/279, Archives Division, Texas State Library. The figures tabulated on pages 80-83 are inaccurate and incomplete when compared with the MSS Election Returns. The edited *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861,* hereafter referred to as the Winkler *Journal,* on pages 88-90, has a "Tabular Statement of Election returns, February 23, A.D. 1861. For and against Secession." It is inaccurate in several points (see Table 1). Below the table of votes appears the statement: "122 counties heard from; aggregate vote, 60,826; for secession 46,129; against secession 14,697; majority for secession, 31,432." (See page 90.) *The Texas Almanac for 1862* (title page missing; microfilm of the orig., Texas A&I University Library), 15, reads: "Returns were received from 120 out of the 123 original counties in the state, and over sixty thousand votes were polled, more than three to one of which, or about 46,000 were 'for secession." The secondary works, in the order cited above, are: John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas* (Facsimile Reproduction of the Original, Austin, 1935, first published in New York; 1883), 356; John Henry Brown, *History of Texas* (title page missing, catalogue entry: St. Louis, Mo.: L. E. Daniell, 1892-93), II, 401; Frank Brown, "Annals of Travis County and of the City of Austin," Typescript, Austin-Travis County Collection, Austin Public Library, XX1, 25; Francis Richard Lubbock, *Six Decades in Texas, or Memoirs of Francis Richard Lubbock, Governor of Texas in War-Time, 1861-63: A Personal Experience in Business, War, and Politics* (Austin, 1900), p. 309; Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (Gloucester, Mass.; 1964, reprint of the 1910 ed.), 19; Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans* (Chicago, Ill, 1914), I, 538; Clarence R. Wharton, *Texas Under Many Flags* (Chicago, Ill., 1930), II, 85, reports the vote as "thirty-nine thousand four hundred and fifteen votes . . . for the ordinance and thirteen thousand, eight hundred and forty-one against, a total of fifty-three thousand two hundred fifty six votes, about ten thousand less than the vote cast in the governor's election the year before." The gubernatorial election was held, however, in 1859.

[3]George W. Tyler, *The History of Bell County* (San Antonio, Texas, 1936), 200, accepts the figures cited in the Winkler *Journal,* but the MS Election Return reported a different figure. (See Table 1). Leonis Rummel Wayand and Houston Wade, *An Early History of Fayette County* (LaGrange, Texas; 1936), 244, reads: "the voters of Fayette County defeated Secession by the narrow margin of twenty votes out of a total of 1180 cast." The margin was wider, however; the MS Election Return shows that Fayette County voted "For Secession 580," and "Against Secession 626." The

total vote cast as reported in the return was 1,206, not 1,180. Oliver Knight, *Fort Worth: Outpost on the Trinity* (Norman, Okla., 1953), 51, writing on the February 23, 1861, vote in Tarrant County, states: "By a scant twenty-seven votes out of eight hundred polled, the county favored secession." The MS Election Return shows that Tarrant County voted "For Secession 499," and "Against Secession 132." The total vote was officially reported at 631 votes.

[4]Examination of the MSS Miscellaneous Papers of the Secession Convention, Certificates of Election for Delegates to the Secession Convention, Archives Division, Texas State Library, also proved beneficial. The MS Election Return for the February 23, 1861, referendum held at Camp Hunter, Coleman County, was located in that file. (See Table 1.)

[5]Oran Milo Roberts Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.

[6]Winkler *Journal,* 90.

[7]Possibly the reporting officers of twenty-six counties did not make separate returns, as required by law, to Secretary of State E. W. Cave, for his unionist sentiments were widely known. Of the 122 counties that submitted returns for the referendum of February 23, 1861, votes for only 96 counties were recorded by the Secretary of State. (See the Winkler *Journal,* 58-59, for the ordinance setting the referendum on the Ordinance of Secession; 59, n. 10, reads: "The legislature passed an act on February 17th, legalizing this ordinance of the Convention. Two days later a supplemental act was passed, which required the Governor 'to issue forthwith his proclamation for the election.' The supplemental act required further that the returning officers of the counties make returns to the Secretary of State, to be counted by the Governor and the Attorney General. These returns were in addition to and separate from those required to be made to the President of the Convention.") Governor Houston's proclamation, dated February 9, 1861, setting the election is in Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863* (Austin, Texas, 1941+), VIII, 263. On February 2, 1861, the House of Representatives read for the first time House Bill #4, requiring the Ordinance of Secession be submitted to a vote of the people; after two suspensions of the Rules, the bill was enrolled on February 4; it was read for a third time and passed on February 7. The next day the House speedily passed an act requiring the Governor to issue a Proclamation of Election—the returns to be made to the Secretary of State. See File 2-8/77, Records of the Legislature, State of Texas, Archives Division, Texas State Library.

[8]Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans,* I, 538-39, cites the votes cast for governor in 1857, 1859, the vote for Presidential Electors in 1860, and the vote on the Ordinance of Secession in 1861, and concludes: "Each of these elections aroused more than ordinary public interest and resulted in a full poll. The vote for Breckinridge and Bell was determined by issues so closely parallel to those presented by the ordinance of secession that the almost identical poll of the two is much more than a coincidence; it shows that sentiment in November, 1860, was almost the same as in February, 1861." The syntax in the preceding sentence seems to be in reverse order. While the votes cast in these two elections were "almost identical" in their totals, a close inspection indicates there were considerable variations in the votes cast in the individual counties in the two elections.

[9]For the notion that the breakup of the Union was inevitable see: Letter of Robert Crawford to Oscar M. Addison, January 26, 1861, Oscar M. Addison Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library; *Dallas Herald,* January 23, 1861; Letter of

Jesse Grimes to Robert McIntire, January 29, 1861, Robert McIntire Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 23, 1861 (the day of the referendum!) "All is Vanity," for John Marshall's editorial declaration: "It is useless to disguise the fact that a dissolution of the Union is inevitable."

[10]See page 16.

[11]Letter to Prof. S. B. Buckley, February 17, 1861, Gideon Lincecum Papers, Letter Press, 1860-65, Part I, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.

[12]Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, I, 538.

[13]Sam Houston to George Washington Crawford, September 8, 1860, in Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863*, VIII, 135-36.

[14]Rupert Norval Richardson, Ernest Wallace, and Adrian N. Anderson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1970), 189: "By their vote on February 23, the electorate approved secession; they had taken no action on joining the Confederate States of America. In the minds of most people, however, the two steps seem to have been inseparably linked." Ernest Wallace. *Texas in Turmoil: the Saga of Texas, 1849-1875* (Austin, Texas, 1965), 71, observes: "The campaign was marred by intimidation, intolerance, and violence."

[15]James P. Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas and Journal of Travel From Texas through Mexico to California, Including a History of the "Box Colony"* (San Francisco, Calif., 1863), 8, flatly states: "many of the secession majorities reported, were false." Gilbert D. Kingsbury, who had served as Postmaster in Brownsville before the Civil War under the assumed name of F. F. Fenn, recalled his experiences on election day: "The vote for & against Secession was taken. Under whip & spur, every secessionist was lashed to the Polls. Under threats and inducements thousands voted for secession who neither believed in its right or policy and other thousands did not vote at all . . . Armed men stood round the polls warning every man who voted against Secession of its dangers. Where I voted, armed men including the District Judge & Clerk, told me significantly never again to vote in Texas. I replied that 'in so much as Texas swung out of the Union I was a foreign resident there, and should never offer a vote there, until she swung back again.' They said they 'wanted no abolition speaches [sic], they were only giving me friendly warning' and by way of emphasizing their assurance, slapped their hands on their revolvers. The vote in that County under such discipline was 701 for secession 36 against it." (See: MSS "Second Speech, on Texas," n.d., no place given, Gilbert D. Kingsbury Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library. The correct vote in Cameron County for secession was 600 to 37.) There is an interesting item in "Notes," *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, V (July, 1901-April, 1902), 168-69, Agnes Paschal McNeir, "Did Texas Secede?"—an account of her mother's recollections of the vote in Double Bayou Precinct of Chambers County. The contention is that the correct unionist vote was not reported by the election officials.

[16]An exact determination of any fraudulent reporting of the votes would require a diligent search of the MSS County returns in each of the 122 counties. By law the County Clerks were obligated to record and to retain the returns from the precinct managers, reporting only the county totals to the State officials. It is doubtful that all of these have survived the ravages of time, fire, weather and "house cleaning." Even

so, a *viva voce* vote (the manner in which the February 23 election was held) might have been declared one way and recorded another, depending on the conflicting sentiments of voter and local election manager.

[17]In the opening paragraph of the chapter entitled "Secession and War, 1860-1865," Rupert Norval Richardson, Ernest Wallace, and Adrian N. Anderson, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, 183, an oversimplification is attempted: "Ninety percent of the white immigrants to Texas had come from the Old South, bringing with them pronounced opinions on their institutions and rights. Thus as the rancorous controversy over slavery divided the nation into two well-defined camps, it was natural that the state should join the proslavery group." Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*, "State of Texas. Table No. 5—Nativities of Population," pp. 486-90, presents a variety of data. The total population of Texas was 604,215, of which 182,566 were slaves; there were 421,649 free persons (including only 355 "colored"). Of this number, 131,909 were born in the Lower South (31.3% of the total); there were 28,062 born in the Border South (6.6%); "Other U.S." and "At Sea" and "Not Stated"—65,213 (15.5%); those who were foreign born—43,422 (10.3%); native Texans, 153,043, comprised 36.3% of the population. Therefore, only 268,606 persons were born outside Texas and had migrated some years prior to the enumeration. Of those who had immigrated, 159,971 were born in the Lower South and the Border South (59.5% of those migrating); "Other U.S."—65,213 (24.3%); "Foreign Born"—43,422 (16.2%). No more than 59.5% of those persons enumerated in 1860 had been born in the Old South; however, certain native Texans, children of Southerners, may have reflected the attitudes of their parents.

[18]All of the letters cited above are filed in the Oran Milo Roberts Papers.

[19]The *Navarro Express* (Corsicana), December 21, 1860, had reported a speech by "William Telley, Esquire," who had reportedly quoted from a recent issue of the *Philadelphia Ledger* that a "respectable colored family" had advertized for a "white boy 14 or 16 years of age to wait on the table and make himself generally useful about the house. None need apply, unless they can come well recommended for honesty and humility. He will not be allowed to receive the visits of his friends at the house, as he will be allowed half a day Sunday to go to see his acquaintances, and as the family cannot be annoyed by poor white people calling at the house." The writer has been unable to locate such an advertisement in any of the extant issues of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger and Transcript* from November 7, through December 21, 1860. The MSS United States Eighth Census Returns, 1860, Schedule 1, Free Inhabitants, for Navarro County do not list a William Talley as a resident of Corsicana. A. W. D. Tally, twenty-five years of age, a stock raiser, born in Washington, D.C., resided in a tavern operated by W. W. McPhail. Tally listed no property; he was hardly a "First citizen" of Corsicana—one who would be expected to influence the voters.

[20]Oran Milo Roberts Papers. Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Frontier of Northwest Texas, 1846-1876: Advance and Defense by the Pioneer Settlers of the Cross Timbers and Prairies* (Glendale, Calif., 1963), 226, explains the vote against secession in the counties of Wise, Jack, and Montague: "The number of people of Northern origin in these counties does not althogether explain the voting." Richardson continues: "Nor must one believe that the votes of one hundred and seven to zero for secession in Palo Pinto was a true reflection of the sentiment there. It is easier to believe that aggressive advocates of separation cowed the opposition."

[21]For efforts, and failure, of the unionists to organize see: J. W. Throckmorton to John H. Reagan, August 17, 1859, John H. Reagan Papers, Archives Division, Texas State Library; Throckmorton to Benjamin H. Epperson, August 18, 1859, Benjamin H. Epperson Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library; Throckmorton to Reagan, September 9, 1859, Reagan Papers; Throckmorton to Epperson, September 13, 1859, Epperson Papers. James P. Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas*, 9, blames Sam Houston with the failure of the unionists to find a leader: "Gen. Houston seemed to fail, for the first time in life, to be equal to the emergency."

[22]Intelligence of the firing on Fort Sumter became known in Austin on April 17. See Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, I, 542. The *Dallas Herald*, April 17, 1861, editorially observed: "The Probabilities of War—We honestly believe that everthing portends a sudden and violent commencement of hostilities,—then woe, upon the heads of those who would not let us have a peace in the Union nor suffer us to depart in peace, when we desired to do so!" On March 9, 1861, G. P. Hollingsworth writing to O. M. Roberts had commented that Lincoln's inaugural address "is generally regarded as a declaration of war—in the South," and he rather astutely continued: "I suppose the next thing we will hear will be the reverberations of the *guns* from Fort Sumter." (Oran Milo Roberts Papers.) Benjamin H. Epperson, writing to Elisha M. Pease on May 22, 1861, expressed the view that the commencement of hostilities had ended "forever" any possibility of reconstructing the Union. (Pease Family Papers, Austin-Travis County Collection, Austin Public Library.) William Pitt Ballinger in a letter to Pease dated May 25, 1861, expressed similar views, concluding that the only "alternative [is] now but to fight to the death, or to be subjugated and abased." (Pease Family Papers.)

[23]For the accounts of fires, abolitionists' activities, and a rumored slave "plot" see the issues of the *San Antonio Ledger and Texan*, June 2, July 21, the "Incendiarism" extra of July 27, July 28, and August 25, 1860; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), July 14, and August 25, 1860; *Navarro Express* (Corsicana), August 11, and September 21, 1860; *Civilian and Gazette* (Galveston), September 11, and October 16, 1860. In his "Memoirs," *Six Decades in Texas*, 305, Francis Richard Lubbock makes an interesting comment: "As an original question, secession, perhaps, would have failed to carry in Texas; . . . "

[24]Claude Elliott, *Leathercoat: the Life History of a Texas Patriot* (San Antonio, Texas; 1938), 50-51, explains J. W. Throckmorton's support of the Confederacy: "Through bitterly opposed to secession, Throckmorton refused to endorse coercion. He even believed that an attempt on the part of the Federal government to coerce a state might justify the breaking up of the union; that is, he believed in the right of secession but not in the wisdom of its assertion." Frank W. Johnson, *A History of Texas and Texans*, I, 541, concludes that Texans "believed in the right of secession; and they denounced coercion in the strongest terms."

[25]John H. Reagan to O. M. Roberts, letter written at Washington, D.C., December 7, 1860, Oran Milo Roberts Papers. Reagan requested that Roberts show the letter to John Marshall, editor of the *Texas State Gazette* and Chairman of the Democratic Party State Central Committee, and "have him put our people on guard against this compromise proposal [John J. Crittenden's efforts]. It is but a tub thrown to the whale, & intended to stay Southern action, & give time for the forming of a great Union party."

[26]For the idea of "revolution" see: *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), December 1, 1860, "If this be Treason, Make the Most of it!" The *Standard* (Clarksville), February 9, 1861, editorialized: "Let us show that Texans, in this revolution; as in the first, are

an unbroken brotherhood." John H. Reagan, *Memoirs with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War by John H. Reagan,* Walter F. McCaleb and George P. Harrison, eds. (New York, 1906), 109, explained his position on Alexander H. Stephens. Reagan would not have voted for him "because it was the first time I had known of a people embarking in a revolution and selecting as one of their leaders a person known to be opposed to it." Discussing the election of delegates to the Secession Convention, Charles W. Ramsdell wrote in *Reconstruction in Texas,* 15: "Extra-legal and revolutionary as the plan was, it won the endorsement of secessionists everywhere, and by its very audacity at once gave them a great advantage over the Unionists, whose defensive and negative opposition only assured the election of secessionist delegates."

[27]"Texas was not prepared for war. The people did not want war," was the observation made by Frank W. Johnson in *A History of Texas and Texans,* I, 541. Oscar M. Addison assured his worried mother, "Civil War, that won't happen." (Letter of February 10, 1861, Oscar M. Addison Papers.) Royal T. Wheeler, having surveyed the files of Northern newspapers, concluded: "we will not have war—at least anything like a general war." Twelve days later Wheeler again wrote reassuringly to O. M. Roberts, "we shall have no war; and the union shriekers at home will not be able, I am satisfied, to get the anticipated & desired aid from 'Uncle Abe' to make war on us at home. These desperate men will 'strut their brief hour' unaided & alone- & impotent for harm." (Letters of March 14 and 26, 1861, Oran Milo Roberts Papers.) Although Confederate forces had fired the "first gun" at Charleston, " the war was begun by the North to all intents and purposes," according to an editorial in the *Navarro Express* (Corsicana), April 24, 1861. In a letter to O. M. Roberts written on April 26, 1861. Leonard Randal expressed the view that: "Mr. Lincoln's peece [sic] policy has turned out to be a hoax and instead of peace the Northern people are prety [sic] strongly infected with the war spirit." (Oran Milo Roberts Papers.) Joel Daves wrote his preacher-brother, Oscar M. Addison, "the war fever rages here—two Companies are to be formed here—all K,G,Cs. I made them a speech last week, not public—in the Castle, of which I am c[h]aplain [sic] & Treasurer—a good office these hard times." (Oscar M. Addison Papers.) Governor Ed. Clark took time out from his executive duties to write Guy M. Bryan: "Lincoln, as you say, has threatened war and subjegation to our Section—that was to be expected—I only regret that he is so *tardy* in executing, or attempting to carry out his threats. All we ask is for them to come & give us a chance to *welcome* them." (Letter of April 30, 1861, Guy M. Bryan Papers, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.) Abraham Enloe wrote his relatives, living in Paducah, Kentucky, for "war news" of the border area and reflected on conditions in Texas: "We are all fuss preparing for war[;] let me hear all about your fuss and war arangements [sic]. We have hard times[.] No money[.] Cannot sell property at any price." (Letter of May 16, 1861, [1860 on the letter] to John Enloe, in Abraham Enloe Letters, Civil War Period Letters—I, Archives Collection, University of Texas Library.) The editor of the *Navarro Express* (Corsicana) in an editorial on May 15, 1861, reasoned "no one here should fear the final result of the war, nor do we suppose any such feeling is entertained." Charles DeMorse expressed his candid opinion: "Our own belief is, that after all, it will not be Much of a war—that after the novelty of playing soldiers has worn off, the North will become reflective." [*Standard* (Clarksville), May 18, 1861.]

[28]James P. Newcomb, *Sketch of Secession Times in Texas,* 12.

JUST A FEW CHILDHOOD MEMORIES OF MATTIE D. STEUSSY

edited by
Robert W. Shook

We lived in the "piney woods" of East Texas. My father had a sawmill.[1] We were a long way from any town. Eight miles was a half day's journey in those days, with deep sand and stumpy roads. There were very few roads that one could travel with a hack or buggy. In the winter we were water bound as all streams were swollen and dangerous. There were foot logs but very few bridges. We did not have schools or churches except in the small towns or thickly settled neighborhoods. We had cottage prayer meetings once in a long while.

My brothers went to school in the old town of Plantersville.[2] The terms were short but they had a good school. The pupils rode horseback. They took their lunches in tin buckets with tight lids. We had never met "Mr. Germ" then but he was there. The lunches consisted of biscuits, cornbread and homemade syrup. We had fresh meat and fruit of some kind. We had fine orchards and there was plenty of wild fruit. We had berries—blackberries and dewberries—wild plums and grapes as well as the cultivated fruits. The woods were full of game. My father and my brothers were great hunters and fishermen. My mother cooked anything, such as rabbits, o'possums, squirrels, turkeys, deer, wild ducks, geese, quail, and "coons" but she would not eat very many of these things and if mother wouldn't eat it I wouldn't either. We also had a few sheep, goats and Longhorn cattle. We would milk twenty cows and very seldom made more butter than we could use. Once in a while we would sell a pound. Later my father crossed the Longhorns with Durham, which was a wonderful improvement.

We always had dogs, hounds at that. We had a cur or bulldog as watch dogs. As a child I hated the hounds because they were always hungry and we could not get outside with anything to eat or they would take it away from us. Our men never thought of killing for sport but just for food. Sometimes the neighbor men would come over and bring their dogs. They would have a big fox hunt but the fox was most always safe. When I heard all those old hounds on its trail—I could tell when they struck a warm trail—I would cover up my head and hope that the fox would get away, even if they did like chickens and geese. We had a flock of geese for their feathers as everyone was expected to have a big fat feather bed in those days. Believe me, they are still fine. We also had ducks, turkeys, and peacocks. We drew the tails of the male peacock in the summer. Mother[3] nearly always received five dollars for each tail. They were made into long handled fans or brushes to fan flies off of the table while eating. These fans were very fancy and beautiful. Screens were unknown at that time. There were some good old black "mammies" who went among the neighbors every six weeks in the summer to pick geese. They could pick about thirty in a day. We also picked the ducks.

I had one sister and brother younger than I. We did not have any place to go but we were happy. We had swings, seesaws, and stick horses. My older brother would give us a dime, when he was at home, if we would not ride astride for he did not like to see little girls astride. As soon as he was gone we would straddle our horses and away we would go. We would pace, trot, and lope. We had a play house and we had dolls. We learned a little about sewing by making doll clothes.

There was a little cloud coming into our happy young lives. There was not any school near enough for us to go alone, so that was my first heartache when I had to leave mother and stay with a neighbor and go to school. But the term was short, only three months. Later I went to my brother's house in the old town of Montgomery[4] for two

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terms of school. That was the only real school I ever went to and I did very well. I would have done better but all I thought of was Friday when one of my brothers would come for me to spend the weekend at home. I remember one day brother Frank came for me and told me that I had better not try to go home this week as the creek was rising when he crossed it. He was afraid that he would have to swim it on the way back home. I begged him to take me anyway as I would not mind if he were with me. Old "Reb", his horse, was a big old fellow. I rode behind Frank; so when we came to the creek it was out of its banks but we went across safely. Old "Reb" went under all but his head but we hung on some way. Of course, we were like "drowned rats" but that was okay with me for we got home in a little while. When I saw my mother coming to meet me I cried because she was so glad to see me and I was so glad to see her after almost a week and I was so glad I had come.

I don't think children now get homesick like we did, for mother was all we had. We did not have many playmates or a lot of places to go and we were taught to love home. We did not have Sunday School in the country, but my mother was a wonderful mother. She would read to us out of the family Bible and tell us of the Master. She taught us to trust him and we would be saved, and "To do unto others as we would have them do unto us." Surely He was with us for we would roam through the woods looking for turkey nests and picking berries when every step we took was one of danger. I never remember being afraid of the many snakes or wild animals that were plentiful at that time. We were taught to look out for stray Negroes that would stroll through the woods. They were the "Big bad wolf" in our happy lives. There was one especially scary clump of bushes and trees we sometimes had to come through. I would take my little sister's hand and say "Jessie, let's say a prayer and then run like the dickens." We always came through unharmed.

When the Sabbath day came around we had no place to go, but we always bathed, put on our Sunday clothes, and dressed the beds up and had the house looking nice as we usually had company.

In the spring mother would take us walking in the woods and tell us of the trees and the flowers. She seemed to know the name and habit of all of them and some of them we used as medicine. I remember the Red Oak and the Sweetgum bark. We would drink water steeped in the bark whenever we had the flu or bowel trouble.[5] Then there was the Haw, both red and black, with their lovely sweet scented blooms, and the Dogwood with its beautiful blossoms almost covering the trees. They looked like a snow bank. When the Magnolias would come in bloom we would have long poles to twist off the blossoms from the highest limbs. The Locus was so sweet and beautiful too. I seem to see the old pines with the new growth in the spring. Some of them were so tall they would be fifty feet to the first limb. I wonder if sometimes my child eyes saw things more beautiful than they really were. The long veils of moss on the oaks in the spring, for instance. I have never seen moss that looked like that, with its long streamers floating in the breeze with the new growth in the spring. It was wonderful. And I must not forget the dainty little [Sumac] with its dark, glossy green foliage. It was so pretty with other flowers or weaths. The sassafras with its ash colored foliage from which we made tea in the spring. We were all supposed to drink it once a day to cleanse the blood but I never did drink much of it.

When I was about ten years old, life changed some for us. Mother's sister came to live near us. She had a girl near my age, one grown son and another daughter; so they had parties and we learned to dance. Not like they dance now, we had . . .[the] "Virginia Reel" and a lot more square dances. Everytime we were together we always danced. My cousin played the "fiddle" for us; so we did not care whether we had a party or not, for we were always dancing.

In the old days it cost very little to travel. Anyone would take you in and make you welcome and seemed to enjoy your company. But even then it was hard on the housewife as she would have to prepare extra meals and find a place for them to sleep. When a strange man would ride up, my father would say "Light" and he would "light" and then father would say to my brother, "Put this man's horse up and feed it." Then to mother he would call, "Mother, have you a bite to eat for this stranger?" So often she would have to cook extra. I remember my father went to North Texas about some land matters and was gone about a week. He went horseback, of course. When he returned he said he only spent one dollar while he was gone and that he gave to a widow and her children for keeping him one night.

In the afternoon mother would sit on the porch with her mending basket and darn and mend. We would sit near her and listen while she would tell us of the old times when she was young and how much better times she had then. For one thing, mother had a sewing machine that you turned by hand. I believe she bought it in 1867. She also had a cook stove. We did not have to mold so many candles, either, as we had little brass lamps with round wicks. We also had matches but they were high, about 50c for a small box about the size of a penny box now. We covered the fire with ashes and never let it go out. Sometimes a neighbor would come before daylight to get a shovel of coals to start a fire. We would have lighters made out of colored paper to light pipes or candles. In winter we used rich pine to make torches if we had to look after the chickens. The black pitch would run out of these torches and if it dropped on your hand or arm it was just too bad. But later father bought some beautiful glass lamps with chimneys, and a lantern. We thought them wonderful and fine.

Mother would make her own soap by dripping lye through grease and ashes. Of course we had an old hopper. We bought a soap we called turpentine soap. It was expensive but was fine for white ruffles, shirts, white dresses and fine linens. Our washboards were very crude, too, and Monday mornings you could hear the old battling sticks doing their duty.

Later in mother's life, father bought her a sewing machine that you peddled with your foot and that was some better. The name of it was Howe and it made about as much noise as a Model T Ford car. Later we traded the Howe for the American machine and it was almost as good as the machines are now. It had all of the attachments. There was a hemmer, tucker, gatherer, and a quilter. Mother could not get the hang of it then but I could use them from the first day. Mother was so proud of me. I would tuck, hem and gather ruffles by the yards for the neighbors, and quilt bonnet tops too. Believe me, mother was not the only one that thought I was smart. I believed it myself.

There were very few places we could go in those days in buggies. We had to go horseback. Ladies all had long riding skirts with large buttons down the front. Of course they had to ride side saddle. The first woman I ever heard of or saw riding astride was the great sculptress, Elizabet Ney. She and her husband, Dr. Montgomery, would go to the county seat on business. At that time Old Montgomery was the county seat. She and her husband had a large saw mill not very far from my father's mill.[6] I remember one morning she and Dr. Montgomery came to our house for the first time. Elizabet Ney had on pants and was riding astride. Our mill at the time was running full blast with a lot of buyers, visitors and a full crew of men. Father thought at the time he would have to stop the mill for fear of accidents as every one wanted to see a woman in riding pants and riding astride. She was a great artist or sculptress but her fame was nothing to the working men at the mill. Her pants and the way she rode were the attraction. If there are any of the oldtimers living they will still speak of her as the woman who wore pants and rode astride. After that she came every now and then. She and Dr. Montgomery would stop at

our home and ask for coffee and sometimes fresh eggs. They ate the eggs raw, just breaking them in a glass and putting salt and pepper on them. My father tried to teach my sister and me not to stare at strangers, so while they were drinking their coffee in the dining room we would go back in the kitchen where she could not see us and gaze all we wanted to. We need not have been afraid of her. We could have gone in where they were and I doubt if she would have even seen or noticed us. I never remember seeing her smile or notice the beautiful shrubs, flowers, trees, or lovely snow white turkeys, lambs, or anything that most strangers would have enjoyed. Her mind seemed to be in the clouds and, strange to say, she had a son about six or eight years old and he was still in dresses the last time I heard of him.

We children did not wear pants, but we had long pantaloons almost to the shoe tops. Our Sunday pantaloons were very fancy with silk and lace. Our dresses seemed to me to have three widths in them and were a bit longer than now. You could not see much of a little girl's legs then. We called our legs limbs and would not have thought of saying leg or limb in company. We were taught to be seen and not heard. We understood a lot too. Mother would always say that little pitchers had big ears. We were just as eager to know about life as the children are now, but the children are wiser now and can tell their grandmothers a few things that will make them sit up and take notice.

Mother did not go out much but we had three nice neighbors. Our families had been friends for years. They would come in and spend the day or afternoon sometimes and how happy we would be to have girls our ages to play with. If they came in the afternoon we would always have coffee, little cakes or biscuits, and butter. Everyone would have some kind of refreshments when old neighbors came for a visit. When I see the beautiful playgrounds of today with their merry-go-rounds, fancy swings, seesaws and swimming pools and many other things, I wonder if the children get the thrill out of them that I did when I found a goose nest full of large snow white eggs. The old mother goose would make her nest by some log and would always cover up the nest when she left it. But the old gander would always show me where the nest was. He would get on top of a log and call every now and then. If I heard him I would have no trouble in finding the nest but had plenty of trouble getting the eggs if he was still there. I never could wait for him to leave; so he would pinch my arms black and blue but I got those eggs just the same. And how I did love those geese. There is nothing any sweeter than a baby goslin so soft, helpless, and silly. Children don't seem to remember things that happen now.

I was not quite four when my younger sister was born, but I remember her little red face as plain as yesterday. When she was three months old my oldest sister was married. She was such a sweet companion for my mother and such a help and comfort, too. It was hard for mother to give her up. The night of the wedding we had a big supper. Mother and some of the old friends cooked for days. Her dress was white Swiss with a long veil with orange blossoms. I seem to see my mother yet, the day after my sister married, when they came for her trunk, bedding, and so many pretty quilts. With tears streaming down her face she bade farewell to the first child to leave the home nest.

My sister and her husband only lived about a mile from us. In less than two years they moved near where the town of Rogers[7] is now. The only town near them was Belton. After my brother-in-law had his farm in good shape, they had someone to care for things so they could come to see us in the summer. They came in a covered wagon and I never see one to this day that I don't think of those wonderful visit. They must have gone three years or more before they came the first time when they had a little girl with black curly hair. Her name was Florence. We called her "Babe." We thought her the prettiest and smartest girl living. Mother could not love her enough. It seems that my sister did not have any Negroes near them so the first day they came my little sister and I had "Babe" in our playhouse when in came Pete and Anna, our colored friends and

playmates. I will never forget the scream Babe gave when she saw them. But by talking and petting she soon got used to them; but anyway, she told her mother to make them wash their faces! There was one Negro girl on the place who was just my age. If she could have lived now, she would rival the Mills Brothers. She sounded just like a band when she hummed or sang her songs. She made such fine dance music that we made her sing while we danced.

It seems to me now that father may have had nine or ten families on the mill yard and they were sick quite a bit and there was where my dear mother was to be found—with the sick and the dying. She always helped to put away the dead. She was at every birth, too. She also helped at the weddings of some of the young folk. You could not buy a coffin nearer than Houston, so the coffins had to be made. I never hear a hammer at night that I don't think what that sound used to mean. We had a graveyard right near the mill under some big trees. Father had it fenced and I wonder if it could be found now.[8]

In 1870, the year my sister married, my sister Livinia, older than I, passed away. So poor mother had a birth, wedding and death within a few months. Until I was about fourteen my father was making money with his saw mill; then so many better improved mills were being built around us and our timber was about all used up as we only sawed the best timber. He tried to find a new location but it cost so much to move and we would have had to buy a lot of new machinery, so my poor father went broke. Then trouble was as now— [it] never came alone.

In the spring my brother, Charles, was very ill with pneumonia and his life was threatened for three weeks. But he soon recovered. My mother's only sister was stricken with the same complaint. Mother had not had time to rest from nursing my brother before she had to nurse her sister, who passed away in about ten days. She left her three children without a mother or father. But my mother's brother lived with them and he was a good man. We all loved him. The children took their mother to the old Springer graveyard about eighteen miles away. It took a day to go and a day to dig the grave and put her away. Then it took a day to come home. The day they left Uncle Rie came over to eat supper with us but said he did not feel well and in a short time he had a chill. Mother took him home and stayed with him awhile. Father went for a doctor but the doctor couldn't do anything and he also passed away in 24 hours. When my cousins returned home they had to start back with Uncle Rie's remains.

In about ten days it was to be my mother's birthday, the first of March. Brother Frank came in with a large catfish so mother told me to go after her poor sister's children. I can never forget that supper for it was the last supper my mother ever cooked. Right after we were finished with supper she told one of my brothers she was cold. Father became alarmed and sent Brother Frank for Doctor Irons. He worked faithfully with her but she left us. When we returned from putting her away I was dazed. I did not know what to do. My poor little brother and sister were lost too. My father was pitiful. How were we to live without our mother? Father would not stay in mother's room. He told my sister and me that it was ours, so he took little brother Baylor and moved in a room across the hall. My happy childhood was over. I became a woman in three days. I who had never had a care took up my mother's burdens. I tried to make my father and brothers comfortable. With my young sister's help we did our best but that was not so good. I wonder why I was so selfish not to have helped mother more while she was with us. She was only fifty-four when she died.

I don't remember how long we stayed with father and my brothers. Anyway, they had to leave us alone most all day and they were anxious. They did not feel that it was safe for us to be alone, so my sister and I went to father's sister's [house] to live. Then Brother John came for Sister Jessie and my oldest sister took my brother Baylor. We knew this separation was best for us but that did not keep the hurt from our young hearts.

We knew that we would never walk the same path or be together any more. I stayed on with my aunt until I married. I believe that my life in some ways was not as hard as that of my mother, although I never heard her complain. I have had many comforts that she never had. I went places, have seen more, made more mistakes than she ever made, and I have had some troubles that she never had.

NOTES

Mrs. Mattie D. Steussy's "Memoirs" have been preserved by Mrs. L. C. Hooper of Victoria, Texas, who generously contributed from her extensive notes on the Dupree family.

[1]Mrs. Steussy's father was Captain Franklin Goldstein Dupree (1826-1914), one-time member of Company "H", 26 Mounted Calvary, C.S.A. Dupree's father, Colonel Lewis Dupree (1801-1855) was a veteran of the Seminole War and established a plantation in 1842 on his arrival in Texas. Lewis Dupree's migration was the result of encouragement from his cousin, Mirabeau B. Lamar. The plantation was located in what is now Grimes and Montgomery Counties and was traversed by the Old San Antonio Road connecting Montgomery and Navasota. Franklin G. Dupree owned sawmills at Hockley, Hempstead, Calvert, and Hearne. His initial efforts included adapting steam engines from the *Harriet Lane* to his mill operations. Mrs. L. C. Hooper to Robert W. Shook, August 11, 1972; H. A. Trexler, "The Harriet Lane and the Blockade of Galveston," *Southwestern Historical Quartely*, XXV (October, 1931); Worth S. Ray, *Austin Colony Pioneers* (Austin, 1970), 92; Eighth Census of the United States (1850), Grimes County Texas, 69; *Ibid.*, (1860), 80; Charles Spurlin, "John Lewis Dupree," *Texas Bar Journal*, 30 (December, 1967). Duprees appear in numerous nineteenth-century Texas newspapers. Surname Index, Newspaper Collection, University of Texas Archives, Austin.

[2]Plantersville is located in southeast Grimes County. *The Handbook of Texas*, edited by Walter P. Webb (Austin, 1952), II 384-385; Eric L. Blair, *Early History of Grimes County*, (n.p.), 1930.

[3]Canzadia Tines Springer Dupree (1830-1882) was Franklin G. Dupree's first wife. She descended from Zacariah Landrum (1766-1833), Revolutionary War veteran and one of "Austin's 300" who arrived in Texas in 1831. His wife was Letita Tines (Tynes) (1776-1848).

[4]Montgomery was designated the county seat of Montgomery County in 1837. Both Montgomery and Plantersville were on the Gulf, Colorado, and Santa Fe Railroad. The county seat was moved to Conroe in 1871. *Handbook*, II, 226. For details on development in the area see W. H. Gandy, "A History of Montgomery County, Texas," (M.A. thesis, University of Houston, 1952).

[5]William R. Hogan discusses early Texian cures in *The Texas Republic* (Norman, 1947). Numerous guides to medicinal herbs were available, judging by old family libraries, to late nineteenth century Texans. Dr. R. V. Pierce's, *The Peoples Common Sense Medical Advisor* (Buffalo, 1875) was a popular volume and contained a full chapter on homemade remedies.

[6]Elizabet Ney and Dr. Montgomery were without peers as early members of the state's artistic and philosophic community. Their lives are recreated in numerous sources: *Handbook*, II, 55-56, 278; Vernon Loggins, "Elisabet Ney at Liendo Plantation," *Southwest Review*, (Autumn, 1946); Vernon Loggins, *Two Romantics and their Ideal Life; Elisabet Ney, Sculptor, Edmund Montgomery, Philosopher* (New York, 1946); Bride Neill Taylor, *Elisabet Ney, Sculptor* (New York, 1916); Morris T. Keeton, *The Philosophy of Edmund Montgomery* (Dallas, 1950); I. K. Stephens, *The Hermit Philosopher of Liendo* (Dallas, 1951); Frank Edd White, "A History of the Territory That Now Constitutes Waller County, Texas, from 1821 to 1884" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1936).

[7]Rogers, Texas, is located near Temple and Belton, The community was established in 1881 and after a boom during World War I began a decline. *Handbook*, II, 144,499.

[8]The Dupree Cemetery has been rescued from the wilderness near Navasota.

PRELUDE TO SAN JACINTO: NACOGDOCHES 1836

by Carolyn Reeves Ericson

The week prior to San Jacinto Day, April 21st, was filled with rumors, fears and reports of Santa Anna's approaching army. The Runaway Scrape had left the state almost devoid of women and children and in an air of confusion.

The many Spanish inhabitants of Nacogdoches were apprehensive of their fate. Rumor reported they were to be killed just as if they were marching with Santa Anna. The situation was very tense and the Anglos remaining on guard in town realized something had to be done. The Committee of Vigilance and Safety for Nacogdoches gathered and five men were selected to meet with the local Mexican citizens who had armed themselves and had gathered at the edge of town. Henry Raguet, local merchant, was named chairman of this committee.[1]

Raguet, son of James Michael and Ann Wynkoop Raguet, was born February 11, 1796 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He served in the War of 1812 and soon after his discharge moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. He was in business for some time in Cincinnati and was elected a director of the Bank of the United States in 1827. Raguet failed in business in Cincinnati and began looking for a new location. Early in the year 1833 he made a trip to New Orleans, Louisiana, where he became acquainted with Sam Houston and John Durst who persuaded him to make a trip with them into Texas. They arrived in Nacogdoches in March, 1833 and Raguet accompanied Durst to his ranch home on the Angelina River.

After deciding to make his home in Texas, Raguet returned to Ohio by way of Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he met the struggling young merchant, William G. Logan. Raguet described Texas in such a way that he persuaded Logan to make a similar move. The Raguet and Logan families proceeded together to Texas where the firm of Logan and Raguet began its mercantile business in Nacogdoches in November, 1833. The partnership continued until Logan's death on April 23, 1836. Raguet continued in the mercantile business in Nacogdoches until his retirement in 1852.

Marcia Raguet and her six children[2] left Nacogdoches about the last of March 1836, as William G. Logan wrote Henry on April 2 from Natchitoches that he would not leave there "until the day after tomorrow or till your family gets off." On May 5 Condy Raguet wrote Henry that his family had arrived safely in Philadelphia. Much later, on November 3, Charles W. Micken wrote from Cincinnati to his friend Henry Raguet that the latter's family was about to leave for Texas. On December 31, 1836 Sam Houston wrote to Henry congratulating him "on the arrival of your family safe at home." Thus for the Raguet family the Runaway Scrape lasted eight or nine months. During the time Marcia was in Philadelphia Henry wrote to her telling of the situation in Nacogdoches. The following letter tells the story of that situation.

Letter No. 6 Nacogdoches April 17th 1836

Yesterday my Love was another day of great Moment here the largest proportion of the American Troops & citizens have considered the Native Mexicans here their enemys in the same light did Mexicans here consider the Troops here, and would you believe it Love that myself who have allways been a friend of our Mexican neighbours here and have allways advocated their rights and reprimanded those of our countrymen whose conduct towards them was improper should have been reported to them as their enemy while I have done all in my power to give them that justice which is their due. The Mexicans here have been embod[y]ing for several days & incamp in the woods all armed &

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mounted till their force yesterday amounted to 200 Horsemen. The negotiations which our committee of five had been in with them yesterday drew to a close and I am happy to say, came to fortunate termination by agreement. The Comittee and Capts of the Four Companys of volunteers stationed here for the last few days rode out of Town to meet the Comander of the Mexicans Cordaway & a few of his chief men. They met us a mile & ½ from Town on the Road you went out. When the Capt informed us that his men were stationed a mill off in the wood and were so zealous of us that they were afraid if he marched them into Town that it was to deliver them over to the Americans & that the feelings of some of them might increase of the least misbehaviour of any individual in our ranks bring furious & uncontrollable Consequences. We informed him that unless his men were willing to trust to ours all the officers & committe pledging themselves for the good conduct of our troops that although we were Satisfied of the good Intentions of his Troops that the want of confidence which their refusing to enter Town would lead our men to consider them as enemys. Capt. Cordaway said his men had armed & embodied themselves for the protection of their Property and were at the Command of the Comittee and readey to obey their orders in any way we might direct them for the protection of our Property here and to defend the Town against the Indians but that they would not go against their Countrymen that the declaration of Independence was what most of them could not understand but that they would keep a look out & advise us of the aproch of an enemy & Capt Cordaway then agreed as it seemed the only way that would satisfy our Troops and as we expressed to him the only way that his men might be convinced of the friendship of ours that they should march into Town. On coming to this conclusion on this delicate Matter the Capts of our Companys rode into town to prepare their Companys and we of the Comittee with Doct Irion[4] (who is acting in the absence of Genl Mason who has gone to Fort Jesup) as comandent of the Municipality rode out to the Camp of the Mexican Troops who received us very friendly. They were formed in two Ranks dismounted all holding their horses ready to mount or riding up to the wright. I was taken by the hand & by the same salutation pased to the extreme left of the front line. All these men were our neighbours, customers & they received me like a friend whom they had thought they had lost, so completely had they been seperated from us. Ever since you left here one of the Ebarboes[5] told Capt. Robless & afterwards told me that Pantalion[6] had informed him that I had taken an order to have him killed & every one of his Family to a child of such a highth (holding his hand two feet from the ground) he told me that when he saw an American he had been runing like a dear & that he never before was so glad in his life as now meeting me & finding how he had been deceived he was a brother of Ebarbo who was arrested & carried to Houstons Camp for Trial & whom I am happy to inform you was aquited & will reach home in a day or two . . .

The Troop immediately mounted & marched into Town the Comittee riding at the head Hayden & Carter[7] at the Rear. I forgot to mention then before Hayden has acted as our negotiator. I felt as I rode in with them & presented them to our Troops who were formed on the Square in front of Roberts & Judge Quitmans Natchez Troop of Horse on the side of the Square next to Ruegs that this was a victory for to such extremetys had this situation with them come that this trial had to cast the die wether for exterminating war or Peace and any thing so horable as a cival war with our neighbours was to me a cause of much greater anxiety than meeting 10 times our numbers of Soldiers of Santa Anna & I felt proud that to what I consider so happy an issue had come an understanding for which I had laboured so much.

We entered Town by the Street leading past all their Houses & coming to the Square wheeled to the left in front of the Stone House & thence to the left. The Mexican Troop covering two sides of the Square & the Americans the other two sides. After haulting a little while we rode in front of the Lines of the Americans who presented Arms as we

pased. We then seperated from the Troop & they galoped off & formed on the Street by the old Hospital till we gave them their order which was to return to their homes keeping up a few small partys to ride about the Country to prevent pillage of Merauding bands & to keep up a Town patrol.

Immedially afterwards Judge Whitcombs Troop took up the Line of March for the [part torn off here]
Two Red Land Companys ma
evening & this morning the Nac
Mounted leaving Leander
Robert Allen Wright D.
& Capt Hotchkiss[8] While remarking to the Doct the
Population left in our Town he
to remember him to you. I reply
here & hope you will do the Same
Replies had we not been there
have been a civil war & our Troops would
have been exterminated. Thank God we have averted [it]
Mortimore[9] is to remain here for Thorns- - -
have moved their goods to the U States. Douglas has done the same, Hoffman also Pecks doors are nailed up here he fled on foot the first day of the Alarm on foot Douglass who had gone on with his family below San Augustine met Peck beyond San Augustine Bare footed & a Coat of Mud up to his Breast a number fled in the Same way McNeil Fled in such a hurry that he took the first horse he got hold of [five or 6 words torn out here] a certain Lieut of artillery Fled on foot leaving the Doors of the house he had the charge off [of] open There is but one white family residing between the Trinity & Sabine but we trust they will immedially commence moving back to the Farms. The Comittee recommend it as far west as the Angalina.

We received an express (litle Johnson) from Genl Houstons camp last evening bringing letters of the 13th from the genl three days from Camp. 400 of the Enemy had [Here he wrote around a missing corner of the paper] Just crossed the Brasos 50 miles below San Fillipe but the Genl wrote us part of the enemy have crossed but they are treading the soil upon when they are to be conquered.

[Written in left margin of third page:]

20 Men in number checked the force of the Enemy in crossing the Brasos at Fort Bend. The Genl writes me & says salute with great regard your Family & says dont get scared at Nacogdoches. Remember Old Hickory claims Naches as "Neutral Territory."

[At right end of cover page:]

The Southern division of the Mexican Army has not been heard off [of] since the dreadfull Slaughter of Fanning & his brave band and tis computed that the Enemy lost in Killed & wounded in that Battle from 1500 to 2000. This is a Prairie where our men consisting of 340 & had no water had it been in the wood. This Spartan Band must have anihiliated the whole Mexican Army that attacked them Mr. Love brother of our lamented Friend Love[10] was here yesterday he escaped after being taken prisoner with Grant[11] & Johnsons[12] partys at Refugio.

[At left end of cover page -- very difficult to decipher]

April 19th Since the writing [of] this letter night of 17th Nothing of Importance has arrived here a few Troops pass through here yesterday for the Main Army Genl Mason has got back from Fort Jesup[13] when he arrived there with our Communications Genl Gains[14] had Not reached there they met crossing to Natchitoches—& he sent an immediate order for the U S Troops to march to the Sabine he Soon came up & marched

with them they [Here the tear is on the left so slashes indicate the beginnings of each line that remains] are now stationed on the Bank & making rafts / to cross when occasion requests (or requires) it. Genl Gains / has caled on the Gov of Louisiana Mississippi & Tennessee / to send to his assistance immedially. Five Thousand / Malitia to randavous at Thompsons Ferry on the Sabine [Last line illegible].

[Address area:]
Fort Jesup La.
23 April

Mrs. M. A. Raguet
or Condy Raguet Esq.
Philadelphia
Pa

U S

[Across bottom of cover page:]

Beloved Children how thankfull I feel that you are safe from the dreadful alarms that agitated those who were not so fortunate as to leave so soon. [Sealing wax here] God bless you & often think of your Dear Dear Pa

Your affectionate Husband & Father
HRaguet

[Left margin of first page:]

A few Mexican Citizens showed themselves in Town today & in a few days I hope to see them mostly return when the Town will not have that deathly stillness that now prevades. We shall then at least hear the Fidles. My Love the Body & Mental Labour that I have gone through the Last week as Chairman of the Committee you cannot judge of from what you have before seen day & night have I toiled for our bleeding Country

[Left margin of second page:]

Nacogdoches seems tonight as Silent as a wilderness the Trumpets which sounded the Mexican charge as we rode in Town yesterday its sounds have died away in the hills the Drums that Sounded from our Ranks are no more herd-the gay banners have been born away by the gallant bands that were [two words illegible] those men from Red River are ordered to depart & have camped out of Town on the March (?) & 9 Horsemen from the U States arrived who————to night.

Marcia/Mercy Ann (Towers) Raquet

Col. Henry Raquet

NOTES

1. On December 10, 1835 Raguet was appointed treasurer of the Committee of Vigilance and Safety for Nacogdoches and was later made chairman. On February 9, 1837 he was appointed postmaster of Nacogdoches. He continued to live there until 1873 when he moved to Marshall where he died on December 8, 1877. He was buried at Marshall.

2. The Raguet Family Bible in the archives of the Barker Texas History Center in Austin gives the wife of Henry Raguet as Mercy (Marcia) Ann Towers. *The Handbook of Texas* and various other sources give the wife's maiden name as Marcia Temple.

Eight children were born to this union:

1. Anna, born January 25, 1819 in Newton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania; married April 9, 1840 in Nacogdoches Dr. Robert Anderson Irion; died Nov. 7, 1883 at Overton, but buried in Greenwood Cemetery, Marshall, Texas.

2. Catherine, born Oct. 16, 1820, Steubenville, Ohio; died young.

3. James Condy, born May 17, 1822, Cincinnati, Ohio; married February 12, 1853 by Bennett Blake, Chief Justice, to Frances Ann Simpson at Nacogdoches; died December 5, 1868 near Warsaw, Kentucky. (Drowned in collision of Steamboats *United States and America.)*

4. Henry Wynkoop, born June 29, 1824, Cincinnati, Ohio; married December 18, 1860 Pamela O. Starr; died March 28, 1862 at Battle of Glorieta Pass, New Mexico.

5. Claudius Morton, born January 3, 1827, Cincinnati, Ohio; his first name for his father's uncle, Claudius Paul Raguet, and his second for his maternal grandmother's maiden name. He apparently died young.

6. Augusta Amelia (twin of above), she married February 8, 1858 Leonard Mortimer Thorn, and moved to New York City where she died December 18, 1902.

7. Mary Helen, born December 3, 1829, Cincinnati, Ohio; died December 5, 1868 with her brother James Condy.

8. Charles (no middle name in Bible record, but later seemed to use "M", possibly for Mansfield or McMicken) born September 11, 1832, Cincinnati; married April 24, 1870 Isabel (Belle) Edwards; died November 11, 1903, probably in Marshall.

3. Vicente Cordova

4. Robert Anderson Irion, who later married Anna Raguet

5. Ebarbo—Y'Barbo—one of the descendants of Gil Y'Barbo, the founder of Nacogdoches

6. Bernard Pantalion

7. Haden Edwards, George Carter

8. Archibald Hotchkiss

9. Leonard Mortimer Thorn, who later married Augusta Amelia Raguet

10. John H. and Hugh Love

11. Dr. James M. Grant, appointed Lt. Colonel

12. Francis W. Johnson

13. Fort Jesup, located a few miles northeast of present-day Many, Louisiana, was built in 1823 by the United States Army.

14. Edmund P. Gaines

CHARLES A. CULBERSON: NOT A SHADOW OF HOGG

By Pollyanna B. Hughes and Elizabeth B. Harrison

Charles Allen Culberson (1855-1925) was attorney general of Texas for two terms (1891-1895), governor for two terms (1895-1899), and United States Senator from Texas for four terms (1899-1923). His thirty-two years of public service started with his election as attorney general at the time when the agrarian revolt was reaching its greatest strength in Texas. He suffered his first political defeat when he failed to gain election to a fifth Senate term in 1922.

Briefly, those facts outline the political life of Charles Allen Culberson, and they are the facts usually related in any mention that is made of him. Added, in many cases, is a statement that Culberson gained public office with the sponsorship of James Stephen Hogg and with Hogg's support moved up to the governorship to succeed Hogg. As governor, he carried out Hogg's policies. Most accounts stop there. One historian said that Hogg left office in 1895 and "no very important events affecting the State have transpired during the period since . . . "[1] Another said that Culberson was always Hogg's "right-hand man."[2] Yet another explained that Culberson "was . . . handed the governorship by Hogg."[3] Joe B. Frantz observed that the people of Texas "knew that whoever might be governor or senator in Texas—in 1897 it was Charles Culberson—Jim Hogg would run the state and that dilettante named Colonel House would choose the winners."[4]

Culberson was not molded in the image of Hogg. He began his career in public office independently in 1880 when he was elected county attorney in his home county of Marion at the age of twenty-five.[5] Culberson does not mention that office in the "Personal Reminiscences" he wrote for publication in Texas newspapers during 1923-1924, but he held the office only a short time. He resigned it to devote himself to his newly-begun law practice in Jefferson, where he had joined his father's firm, Culberson and Armistead, after graduating from the University of Virginia in 1877.

The son of David Browning Culberson and Eugenia Kimball Culberson, Charles A. Culberson had been brought to Texas a year after his birth, on June 10, 1855, in Dadeville, Alabama. His father was a young lawyer then, having read law in the office of Alabama Supreme Court Justice William P. Chilton.[6] Charles attended public schools in Jefferson, Professor Morgan H. Looney's private high school in Gilmer, and Virginia Military Institute before going to the University of Virginia to study law. Charles' father was, by 1877 when the son joined him in his Jefferson law practice, prominent in Texas politics. He had been elected to the United States Congress in 1875, and served ten consecutive terms until 1897.[7]

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Elizabeth B. Harrison (Mrs. Preston E. Harrison), now of Big Spring, Texas, formerly taught business at Weatherford and Tyler Junior Colleges. She holds a BA Degree from Southwestern University, Georgetown, and an MA from East Texas State University. She has done graduate work at North Texas State University, Denton.

Both were born and reared in Jefferson, Texas, accounting in part for their interest in Culberson.

The city in which Congressman and Mrs. Culberson reared their family was one of the most cosmopolitan in the South.[8] Culberson's brother, Robert U. Culberson, said that he remembered Culberson's coming home from V.M.I., handsome in his cadet's uniform, doing the things most young men enjoy doing—taking a drink now and then and playing an occasional game of poker with friends.[9]

Culberson once said that if he had any claim to fame, it was for his early law practice. He was proudest of the 1882 LeGrand Case.[10] His skillful handling of that case won him a wide and favorable reputation as a lawyer.[11] Israel LeGrand was convicted of murder by the Federal District Court at Jefferson in a Ku Klux Klan type of incident prosecuted under an 1871 Reconstruction measure. Culberson appealed to the Circuit Court and had the conviction reversed on the grounds that the law under which the conviction had been ruled was unconstitutional. His view ultimately was upheld by the United States Supreme Court.[12]

Perhaps because of the LeGrand case and accompanying notoriety, Culberson was offered nomination to the Texas Legislature in 1882, but declined.[13] Instead, he made his first move in state politics in 1886, and it was a cautious move. In that year the "Tyler gang" hoped to unite the factions of the Democratic Party to get James Stephen Hogg elected attorney general. Culberson indicated interest in the office, even announced that he would run, but he withdrew before the nominating convention. Shortly after his withdrawal, Hogg came forward with his candidacy for the office.[14] One historian said that Culberson withdrew "apparently with a promise of future support from [Horace] Chilton and Hogg."[15] Since Culberson was from Jefferson and Hogg from Tyler, both in the populous and long politically powerful East Texas area, their running against each other would have split an important part of the Democratic vote.[16] Possibly looking ahead to a means of avoiding such a predicament in the future, Culberson moved to Dallas in 1887.

Before moving to Dallas, Culberson married Sally Harrison, daughter of Col. William M. Harrison and Elizabeth Ann Epperson.[17] In Dallas he formed a partnership with John Bookhout, Bookhout and Culberson, to practice law.[18]

In 1888, Culberson made his first bid for attention of the state Democracy. At the State Democratic Convention in Fort Worth in May of that year, delegates were split wide open over the prohibition issue. A constitutional amendment to provide prohibition in Texas had been submitted to the people and soundly defeated in 1887.[19] The anti-prohibitionists were gloating over their victory on the constitutional amendment and determined to oust the prohibitionists from any further party activity. To that end, they wanted a plank included in the platform. Some conservatives among the anti-prohibitionists, including Culberson, opposed such a plank. Culberson was on the platform committee, which argued the issue so long that the convention became noisily impatient. Finally Culberson announced that the committee's report would be forthcoming soon. That eased the tension in the hall. Smiling, he then withdrew to help finish the work on the platform. James William Madden, when recalling the incident, said he thought "he was as fine a looking specimen of physical manhood as I had ever seen. A handsome fellow, with high flowing forehead, standing as erect as an Indian, hair dark and partially curly, neatly dressed, and with a military bearing . . ."[20] Culberson's announcement meant that the controversial plank was out; throughout the rest of the convention, harmony prevailed. Culberson had made "his hit."[21]

When the Democratic Party assembled in convention two years later, it nominated Culberson for the attorney generalship. Hogg had won the hearts of the great masses of Texas voters by his vigorous activities as attorney general and his promise that if he were elected governor in 1890 he would get a railroad commission, among other things, to bring big business under state control. He had effectively used the Texas

antitrust act of 1889 to attack abuses such as restricting trade, limiting production, and controlling prices.

Hogg was the Democratic Party's answer to pressure, partly from the Farmers' Alliance, to get government regulation of the railroads.[22] The plan worked; the Alliance did endorse Hogg and the proposed railroad commission. Alliance men undoubtedly helped Hogg to win in 1890.[23] Many Alliance men, however, did not go for Hogg.[24] It was only sensible, really, for Hogg to meet farm demands, as Culberson did during his public life, because in 1890 Texas was still more than 84 per cent rural with 64 per cent of its people engaged in agricultural pursuits.[25] Hogg's biographer thought it clear that Hogg's great service to the Democracy of Texas was his making it a party of reform, a party which would meet the people's demands and thereby delay the advent of a third party.[26] He delayed but did not prevent it; Culberson had to contend with the third party when it was his turn to run for governor.

Early in 1890, Hogg visited Culberson in Dallas. Culberson later said that Hogg was not too enthusiastic about his running for attorney general but that since Culberson openly advocated the railroad commission, Hogg "had no objection to seeing him elected."[27] Culberson made "the best race and showed the cleanest pair of heels of anyone . . . He made a record during the campaign that will place him more plainly before the people . . . I consider him the most promising man of the state . . . "[28] So commented a newspaper writer who covered Culberson's talks.

At the nominating convention in 1890, Culberson, without opposition, was nominated by acclamation.[29]

Did Culberson get the attorney generalship because of Hogg's backing? Some say he did. He was "personally chosen for this place by Hogg," one writer said.[30] Another said that he was "swept into office with Hogg."[31] Another thought that "it was the brain power of these two men that brought about reforms . . . "[32] Others thought a major advantage for Culberson was the fact that his father was David Browning Culberson. "He owed much, no doubt, to the popularity of his father, who was becoming one of the Democratic leaders in Congress . . . "[33] Those same writers, however, added that "the son was winning success also on his own merits."[34]

John W. Maddox, evidently a political enemy, made the point clearly in a pamphlet distributed during the 1894 campaign for governor: " . . . little Ford Fauntleroy is not a Hogg. He is a handsome young man with a good opinion of himself . . . " It would be "a most egregious blunder were he to mistake Little Ford Fauntleroy for a Hogg."[35]

In both Hogg and Culberson, the movement for reform found reflection in the turn to youth on the part of the Democratic Party. Culberson was thirty-five years old when he ran for the attorney generalship. The convention that year was worthy of newspaper comment because of the large numbers of youthful delegates.[36]

Up to the point when he became attorney general of Texas, Culberson could hardly have been said to be dependent upon Hogg for his successes in any field, including position in the Democratic Party. If anything, Hogg was indebted to Culberson. Culberson had withdrawn from nomination to the legislature in 1882 for reasons unknown and in 1886 had backed out of the attorney general's race in order not to interfere with Hogg's plans for the same office. When Hogg ran for governor in 1890, he did not go out of his way to promote Culberson's candidacy for attorney-general—but Culberson won, perhaps partly because many people voting for Hogg automatically voted for the man who was on the same ticket, but not because of any great effort on Hogg's part in his behalf. The vote for Culberson was 260,864. His closest opponent, the Republican J. P. Hague, got 76,401.[37]

Culberson and Hogg were in agreement, as indicated, on the subject of the railroad commission. They were also, as indicated, young reformers anxious to meet the demands of the people. Naturally they worked in harmony to achieve the reform goals. Culberson was very unlike Hogg, however, in practically every other way. He certainly was not a "shadow" of Hogg.

Hogg's father had been active in Texas politics during the days of the Republic and had been an officer for the Confederacy during the Civil War. He died in 1862 while on active duty.[38] Hogg's mother died the following year, so that Hogg became an orphan at the age of twelve. He attended local schools in East Texas and while visiting in Alabama, attended a school there. In 1866 he began to work part-time in the Rusk newspaper office. In 1867, he became a full-time printers' devil.[39] At age sixteen, he was entirely on his own. As he grew physically, he also developed his mind through newspaper work. Newspapers were then devoted largely to politics, as political vehicles.[40] Hogg naturally learned a lot about politics through observing his editor and setting news in type.

Hogg had little formal school, little experience with *haut couture*, little help toward financial independence. He did it all for himself, so it is not surprising that he should have emerged into adulthood with enough rough edges to arouse sympathy in the rough-edged Texan whose votes Hogg sought.

Culberson, on the other hand, had as fine an education as the United States offered. He went through no "starvation period," no apprenticeship, but "arrived" at an early age in his chosen profession, that of an attorney.[41] Contemporaries recognized the fact that he started life with the traditional "silver spoon in his mouth." A series of 1921 cartoons depicting stages in Culberson's life showed, to illustrate his childhood, a neatly-dressed little boy standing in front of a pillared colonial mansion and being helped on with his coat by a woman wearing an apron. The line beneath the cartoon: "Scion of a wealthy and cultured family . . . every wish granted."[42]

Culberson "won men and women by his courtliness . . . " He was "polished, a student, an organizer, and ever sure of himself," a contemporary wrote.[43] Another said that he entered public life "dowered with gifts and advantages few young men have ever possessed" including "a most attractive and impressive personality."[44] Another said that Culberson "has the easy port and bearing of a polished gentleman, and in social intercourse is affable and engaging . . ."[45] Yet another mentioned the fact that "the elegant" Charles A. Culberson, "one of the new stars in Texas politics" in 1890, visited Gainesville September 25 and was "charming, gracious, and suave . . . "[46]

George W. Bailey, writing in the *Houston Post* March 20, 1925, on the occasion of Culberson's death, said that Culberson "offers contrast with James Stephen Hogg, whom he succeeded . . . Hogg was the last of the older school of bewhiskered governors; Culberson was the first of the younger, smooth-shaven statesmen." As a matter of fact, Hogg was only four years older than Culberson.[47]

Edward Mandell House, who was Culberson's campaign manager in 1894, 1896, and 1898, said that Hogg "did not have the fine, analytical mind that Culberson has, but he possessed a force, vision, and courage . . . "[48]

Hogg himself, in a speech at Rockdale October 1, 1894, referred to Culberson as the "sterling, chivalrous, intellectual . . . "[49] Culberson, another wrote, "was a pleasing and effective speaker, and all his efforts showed care, deliberation and preparation in their accuracy and scholarly finish; he was prepossessing and handsome . .. a faultless dresser . . . "[50]

This man Culberson, who became attorney general under Hogg, was no helpless nobody who had to depend on Hogg for standing. He did, as attorney general, play a

key role in implementing the goals of reform Hogg had promised the people—the railroad commission, a stocks and bonds law, land reclamation suits, and legal action necessary to make all reform legislation effective.

In 1892, Culberson wrote to a friend saying that he was not participating in the governor's race in any way, taking no sides.[51] Perhaps Hogg thought that he should have. In any case, both Hogg and Culberson were re-elected in 1892 and continued their work together until 1895, when Hogg left the governorship and retired to private law practice. Hogg, one authority said, "made it plain that he intended to support the venerable John H. Reagan to succeed him."[52]

There was temporary break in the good relationships between Hogg and Culberson because Hogg did not give Culberson the support Culberson thought had been promised him. When Hogg appointed Reagan to the Railroad Commission in 1891, Reagan resigned his seat in the United States Senate to accept the appointment to the commission. That made it possible for Hogg to appoint his long-time Tyler friend, Horace Chilton, to the vacated Senate seat, which he did.[53] As the election year of 1894 approached, opposition to "Hoggism" included criticism of Hogg's giving his friend Chilton the Senate seat. Support grew for moving Roger Q. Mills up from the House of Representatives, where he had represented Texas since 1873, to the Senate. Hogg could still keep Chilton in the Senate, but at that point David B. Culberson let it be known that he wanted to run for the seat to be vacated by Richard Coke. Charles Culberson went to Washington and talked things over with his father, explaining what Hogg had in mind. He sent a telegram to Edward M. House saying that his father had agreed not to run in opposition to Chilton, but that Hogg and Chilton "would be expected" to help Charles in the race for governor. House later said that the whole misunderstanding was Culberson's fault because "he was always so independent . . . "[54]

The anti-Culberson pamphleteer, John W. Maddox, analyzed the situation:

> It must not be forgotten that Grand Old Dave, whom all Texas delights to honor, is the father of this handsome boy; and it is not to his discredit that, mindful of his preferment, he retires from an eminently useful public career that he may not endanger the success of his son's gubernatorial ambition. And if he does not stand aloof too long in the interest of Little Ford Fauntleroy, he should succeed Richard Coke in the United States Senate, but he must not watch the Little Lord's fight to the finish and then trip Horace Chilton.[55]

In an undated letter to James William Madden, Culberson said that Reagan supported him for governor at first, but "after the campaign progressed to some extent, Judge Reagan was requested by a number of people to enter the race. He declined to do so . . ."[56] Reagan had made similar commitments to S.W.T. Lanham and John H. Cochran, also contenders for the nomination for governor, but when those two released Reagan from the pledge, Culberson did the same.[57] That left the main race between Culberson and Reagan. Reagan, seventy-six years old, had a long and prestigious record and long-established followers to support him. Frank Andrews, who assisted Edward M. House in managing Culberson's campaign, thought Reagan would be a real threat.[58]

One of Culberson's campaign workers suggested that a speaker might dwell lightly on the fact that "Judge Reagan said emphatically and unequivocally to Culberson that he would not be a candidate, or 'I will do nothing to embarrass your candicacy.' Running against a man is liable to 'embarrass his candidacy.' "[59]

Hogg thought Culberson's stand on the silver question would drive many Democrats to the Populists, so he assured Reagan of his support.[60] Both Hogg and Reagan

favored free and unlimited coinage of silver. Culberson favored coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 provided this could be done while maintaining silver at a parity with gold.[61] The show-down would come at the nominating convention. By that time, with the fine organization worked out by House, Andrews, and Culberson, the Culberson delegates were in a majority. House later told of how he and Culberson sat in one room at the Windsor Hotel in Dallas with Hogg, Reagan, and L. L. Foster down the hall in another room. Hogg tried to mediate the positions of the opposing two, the negotiations extending from morning until late afternoon, with no success.[62] Meanwhile, the platform committee, dominated by George Clark and his supporters, brought in a platform that neither Reagan nor Culberson favored, maintaining the national Democratic Convention silver plank of 1892.[63] Reagan had borne down so heavily on the free silver issue in his campaign that he thought it would make him look ridiculous to accept nomination on such a platform, so the next day he withdrew from the race.[64] It was Reagan's first political defeat in forty-five years.[65] One authority said that Reagan withdrew only after House persuaded Hogg to reason with Reagan, and Hogg did, explaining that only Reagan's withdrawal could prevent a split in the liberal forces. Reagan's withdrawal paved the way for Culberson's nomination.[66] He was nominated on the first ballot after the convention agreed to a resolution adopting majority rule as a means of nominating. Culberson said that he got a two-thirds majority vote, so the maneuvering to assure that he would win by scrapping the old two-thirds rule was wasted.[67] One historian said that adoption of the majority rule was what settled the nomination, regardless of Reagan's withdrawal, because the Culberson forces had a clear majority in the convention.[68]

Only a short time before the nominating convention, Hogg made his first open move of support for Culberson.[69] He had, as a matter of fact, traveled during most of the campaign, removing himself from the need to be active in work for any candidate.

The *Dallas Morning News,* editorially anti-Hogg and delighted that Hogg was leaving public office, commented later:

> It is no secret that Hogg promised to stand by the old man [Reagan] to the bitter end and to secure the nomination for him. The gang was powerful and Hogg was supreme in its councils. The Culberson hokey-pokey-harmony young democracy ox-cart came along and the Hoggites were among the first to get aboard. Reagan was left out in the cold. The excuse was that his nomination would have been offensive to the recently harmonized sound money men, to whom some concessions had been made. The truth was . . . that Hogg could still play first fiddle if the young Christian [Culberson] was selected, while he would have to sing low from a back seat in case of the nomination of Reagan . . .[70]

With the backing of Hogg, Reagan, and United States Senator Horace Chilton, Culberson won in the November election despite one of the wildest splits of the electorate ever. There were Democrats, Populists, "Regular" Republicans, Prohibitionists, and "Reform" Republicans all in the race. The Populists made a powerful showing, their candidate getting 159,676 votes to Culberson's 216,373.[71] One writer said that Culberson got only sixty-four votes more than Thomas L. Nugent, the Populist candidate, but perhaps that writer was a Populist.[72] That was the year that the Populists sent two representatives to Congress from Texas, which showed the extent of dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party's policies.[73]

House recalled later that Culberson paid the entire fifteen hundred dollars the campaign cost. "He refused to permit anyone to contribute toward futhering his selec-

tion as the party's candidate, although it took practically all of his small savings to meet the costs."[74] Frank Andrews wrote a friend during the campaign: "We are poor as church mice here."[75] Culberson, however, wrote identical letters to a number of people on October 18, 1894, telling them that he did not know that the secretary of the State Democratic Executive Committee had sent out requests for campaign donations. He said that if he had been consulted, "I would have insisted that you and others similarly situated should have been left to your own voluntary action . . . "[76] That seems to indicate that he wanted help if anyone wanted to give it.

After Culberson's election, Hogg joined in honoring the victor, he and Culberson remained personal friends, and Culberson threw a few legal-fee plums Hogg's way during the time he was governor.[77] Culberson's first inaugural address January 15, 1895, contained high praise for Hogg.[78] Hogg did not play first fiddle, or even second fiddle, during Culberson's administrations as governor. Hogg stayed busy with private practice and Culberson went his own way as governor, carrying on many policies initiated by Hogg and introducing reforms on his own to the extent that he became known as "the young Christian governor."

One of the first things Culberson did as governor was to appoint his erstwhile opponent, Reagan, to the Railroad Commission, of which Reagan had been chairman by appointment from Hogg.[79] Culberson explained that no one could so well serve the interests of Texas in that job as Reagan.

Upon completion of his two terms as governor, Culberson challenged Roger Q. Mills for the Senate and won. House, with Frank Andrews' help again, managed the campaign, which was so effective that Mills withdrew and left Culberson the uncontested Democratic nominee upon whom the Legislature voted in January, 1899.[80] Culberson was chosen unanimously by the Senate; there were two dissenting votes in the House.[81] Culberson was re-elected to the Senate in 1904, 1910, and 1916, in those cases by vote of the people rather than by the Legislature.[82]

Reagan had also started out running for the Senate post in 1898, and Culberson thought that Hogg backed Reagan. Reagan withdrew even before Mills, and Hogg made the statement: "You may say that I am for Governor Culberson this year and for Senator Chilton two years from now."[83] Hogg supported Martin M. Crane for governor but House, who was managing Culberson's campaign for the Senate, also ran the campaign of Joseph Sayers for governor, and Sayers won.[84] Culberson also backed Crane.[85]

Culberson moved on from the governorship to an almost record-breaking term of service for the state in the United States Senate. The fact that it is difficult to find anything startling or surprising in his record may be the secret of his success. When scandals broke around many of the Senators accused of being in league with powerful interests, Culberson's name was never mentioned.[86] Culberson weathered party splits and personality differences until 1922, when he was ill and old and openly asserted his opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, as he openly asserted his opposition to issues all through his career when he felt that something was a matter of principle. A recent writer said that the Democrats, in the Senatorial race of 1916, "had to opt for a politician whose loyalty to dry progressivism was doubtful. As state attorney general, governor, and senator, Charles Culberson turned silence into a settled habit and rarely revealed his convictions."[87] Culberson had always been openly opposed to prohibition. In 1922, however, the Klan was a decisive influence, and its activities were credited with being a major force in Culberson's defeat for a fifth term in the Senate.[88]

Culberson's career transcended Texas politics. It extended to nationwide activity and, in some Senatorial duties such as his fight for the Treaty of Versailles after

World War I and his opposition to American imperialism, to international scenes. He did not seem dependent upon any one person for what he did or where he aimed politically, although he was a politician of great skill and did take advantage of good advice and help when he could get it. Edward M. House, in letters regarding House's wish that Culberson might become a candidate for the presidency, finally wrote to Culberson that he would turn, instead, to Woodrow Wilson. "The more I see of Governor Wilson the better I like him, and I think he is going to be a man one can advise with some degree of satisfaction. This, you know, you could never do with Mr. [William Jennings] Bryan," House wrote.[89] Culberson was a man House had found subject to advice.

Culberson ran for attorney general in 1890 with Hogg indebted to him for his withdrawal from the attorney general's race in 1886. Culberson ran for governor in 1894 without enthusiastic support from Hogg. He ran for the Senate in 1898 with the last-minute, grudging support of Hogg, who would have preferred Reagan. Culberson continued his Senate career long after Hogg had withdrawn from public service, although Hogg remained active in the Democratic Party. Culberson deserves more than a casual afterthought that "he carried out the policies of Hogg" when the roles of these two men in Texas and the nation are considered.

NOTES

[1]Arthur T. DeShields, *They Sat in High Places* (San Antonio, 1940), 358n.

[2]Paul Bolton, *Governors of Texas* (Big Spring, Texas, 1947), 42.

[3]Sam Hanna Acheson, *Joe Bailey, The Last Democrat* (Freeport, N.Y., 1970), 62.

[4]Joe B. Frantz, "No Diamond in the Rough," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXV (July, 1971), 3.

[5]L. E. Daniell, *Texas: The Country and Its Men, Historical, Biographical, Descriptive* (Austin, n.d.), 124; Robert Lancaster Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career of Charles Allen Culberson," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1954), 5; John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin, 1891), 741; Hugh Nugent Fitzgerald, *Governors I Have Known* (Austin, 1927), 13; Francis White Johnson, *History of Texas and Texans*, 1799-1884, edited by Eugene C. Barker and Ernest W. Winkler (5 vols.; Chicago, 1914), II, 1094.

[6]Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 1.

[7]Walter Prescott Webb, (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas* (2 vols.; Austin, 1952), 1, 443.

[8]*Jefferson Jimplecute*, July 23, 1925; W. Henry Miller, *Pioneering North Texas* (San Antonio, 1953), 44-46; *Inventory of the County Archives of Texas*, prepared by the Texas Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Progress Administration, No. 155, Marion County (Jefferson), (San Antonio, 1970), 10; Mrs. Arch McKay and Mrs. H.A. Spellings, *A History of Jefferson* (Jefferson, 1936), *passim:* Johnson, *History*, II, 893.

[9]James William Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson: His Life, Character and Public Service* (Austin, 1929), 6-7.

[10]*Houston Post*, March 20, 1895.

[11]Daniel, *Texas: The Country*, 123; Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers*, 741; Johnson, *History*, II, 1094; Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 5.

[12]Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 5-6; Charles Allen Culberson, "Second Letter," in Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, 4-6.

[13]Daniell, *Texas: The Country*, 124; Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers*, 741; Johnson, *History*, II, 1094; Anna J. Hardwicke Pennypacker, *New History of Texas for Schools . . .*, Revised Edition (Austin, 1898), 814n; E. H. Loughery, *Texas State Government: A Volume of Biographical Sketches and Passing Comment* (Austin, 1897), 1.

[14]Robert C. Cotner, (ed.,) *Addresses and State Papers of James Stephen Hogg*, Centennial Edition (Austin, 1951), 10; Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 8; James H. (Cyclone) Davis, *Memoir* (Sherman, 1935), 19.

[15]Robert C. Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg: A Biography* (Austin, 1959), 102.

[16]*Ibid.*, 101.

[17]Date of the marriage is given as December 7, 1882, in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (11 vols.; New York, 1958), II, 486, and Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 7, who cites the *Dallas Morning News*, March 20, 1925; 1884 is the date of marriage given by Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, 232, and J. A. R. Moseley, *The Presbyterian Church in Jefferson* (Austin, 1946), 34.

[18]C. A. Culberson to T. R. Yantis, November 13, 1891, Governors' Correspondence, Letter Press, Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin.

[19]Herbert Gambrell, "James Stephen Hogg: Statesman or Demagogue?" *Southwest Review*, XIII (Spring, 1928), 347; Ben H. Procter, *Not Without Honor: The Life of John H. Reagan* (Austin, 1962), 268.

[20]Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, xi.

[21]*Ibid.*, xii.

[22]Roscoe Martin, *The People's Party in Texas*, University of Texas Bulletin No. 3308 (Austin, 1933), 23.

[23]John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Lincoln, 1961), 177, said, "Alliance votes gave him an easy victory," but Charles Seymour, (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (5 vols.; Boston, 1926-1928), I, 28, draws no such conclusion about Alliance votes for Hogg.

[24]J. T. Fulmore to George C. Pendleton, February 14, 1890, and Louis C. Davis to Pendleton, February 14, 1890, Dienst Papers, University of Texas Archives, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, Austin.

[25]Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg*, 325.

[26]*Ibid.*, 208.

[27]Charles Allen Culberson, "Personal Reminiscences," *Dallas Morning News*, December 16, 1923.

[28]*San Antonio Daily Express*, August 14, 1890.

[29]Loughery, *Texas State Government*, 1; Daniell, *Texas: The Country*, 124; Ernest William Winkler, (ed.,) *Platforms of Political Parties in Texas*, University of Texas Bulletin No. 53 (Austin, 1916), 187; Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers*, 741.

[30]Acheson, *Joe Bailey*, 40.

[31]Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 10.

[32]Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, xx.

[33]Johnson and Malone, (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 686.

[34]*Ibid.*

[35]John W. Maddox, "Hon. C. A. Culberson, the Humorist . . ." pamphlet bound in Charles A. Culberson, *Short Speeches, Messages and Papers* (Dallas, 1898), at Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin, 8.

[36]Ralph W. Steen, *The Texas Story* (Austin, 1948), 272; Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, xviii.

[37]Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 9.

[38]Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg*, 24.

[39]*Ibid.*, 34.

[40]Thomas Dionysius Clark, *The Southern Country Editor* (Indianapolis, 1948), 283.

[41]Norman G. Kittrell, *Governors Who Have Been and Other Public Men of Texas* (Houston, 1921), 118.

[42]Fitzgerald, *Governors I Have Known*, 13.

[43]*Ibid.*, 14.

[44]Kittrell, *Governors Who Have Been*, 119.

[45]Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers*, 741.

[46]Acheson, *Joe Bailey*, 42.

[47]Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg*, 5. Hogg was smooth-shaven before he left the governor's office.

[48]Seymour, (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, I, 35.

[49]Cotner, (ed.), *Addresses and State Papers*, 405.

[50]DeShields, *They Sat in High Places*, 368.

[51]Charles A. Culberson to Captain W. J. Clark, "Private," June 9, 1892, Governors' Correspondence, Letter Press, Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin.

[52]Wagner, "The Gubernatorial Career," 18.

[53]Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg*, 245-246.

[54]Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg*, 339; Fitzgerald, *Governors I Have Known*, 5; Savoyard, "The Culbersons, Father and Son," *Washington Post*, January 31, 1904.

[55]Maddox, "Hon. C. A. Culberson, Humorist . . .," 10.

[56]Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, 61.

[57]*Dallas Morning News*, May 21, 1894.

[58]Frank Andrews to J. L. Browne, May 21, 1894, Governors' Correspondence, Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin.

[59]A. J. Clopton to Jasper [full name not shown], July 11, 1894, Governors' Correspondence, Letter Press.

[60]Procter, *Not Without Honor*, 295.

[61]Edward M. House, "Forward," in Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, xxviii.

[62]*Ibid.*

[63]Rupert Norval Richardson, *Colonel Edward M. House: The Texas Years, 1858-1912* (Abilene, 1964), 89-90.

[64]*Ibid.*, 90.

[65]Procter, *Not Without Honor*, 297.

[66]Seymour, (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, I, 30.

[67]Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, 62.

[68]Philip Lindsley, *A History of Greater Dallas and Vicinity* (Chicago, 1909), 224.

[69]Johnson, *History*, II. 373.

[70]*Dallas Morning News*, June 28, 1896.

[71]Winkler, (ed.), *Platforms*, 646.

[72]T. C. Richardson, *East Texas, Its History and Its Makers*, edited by Dabney White (4 vols.; New York, 1940), I, 345.

[73]Frederick Emory Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War, with Special Reference to Iowa* (Iowa City, 1916), 28.

[74]House, "Foreword," in Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, xxviii.

[75]Frank Andrews to W. L. Sargent, June 21, 1894, Governors' Correspondence, Archives Division, Texas State Library, Austin.

[76]Charles A. Culberson to six different people, Governors' Correspondence.

[77]Voucher to James Stephen Hogg and James H. Robinson signed by Charles A. Culberson, September 27, 1895, Governors' Correspondence.

[78]Charles A. Culberson, *Short Speeches, Messages and Papers*, 9.

[79]Charles A. Culberson to John H. Reagan, "Personal," November 15, 1894, Governors' Correspondence.

[80]Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson*, 228.

[81]Richardson, *Colonel Edward M. House*, 126.

[82]Richardson, *East Texas*, II, 567; Daniell, *Texas: The Country*, 125; *Past History and Present Stage of Development of Texas*, published by the Forrister History Company (Chicago, n.d.), 62.

[83]Acheson, *Joe Bailey*, 113.

[84]Seymour, (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, I, 31.

[85]Acheson, *Joe Bailey*, 113.

[86]David Graham Phillips, *The Treason of the Senate*, edited by George E. Mowry and Judson A. Greiner (Chicago, 1964), 130-144, is an attack on Culberson's fellow Senator from Texas, Joseph Weldon Bailey; nothing is said about Culberson.

[87]Lewis L. Gould, "Progressives and Prohibitionists: Texas Democratic Politics, 1911-1921," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXXV (July, 1971), 15.

[88]Charles C. Alexander, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest* (Lexington, Ky., 1966), 50; Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas, The Lone Star State*, Second Edition (Englewood Cliffs, 1958), 316; Seth Shepard McKay, *Texas Politics, 1906-1914, With Special Reference to the German Counties* (Lubbock, 1952), 111; Sam Hanna Acheson, *35,000 Days in Texas: A History of the Dallas Morning News* (New York, 1935), 275; Fitzgerald, *Governors I Have Known*, 16.

[89]Seymour, (ed.), *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, I, 46.

EAST TEXAS CONGRESSMEN DURING THE NEW DEAL

by Philip A. Grant, Jr.

On March 9, 1933 the Seventy-Third Congress was called to order. Summoned into emergency session by newly inaugurated President Franklin D. Roosevelt, this Congress was to enact an impressive array of laws and thus begin the momentous era of the New Deal. Between March 9, 1933 and the adjournment of the Seventy-Sixth Congress on January 3, 1940 the nation was destined to undergo the most sweeping domestic reform movement in its entire history, experience a wide variety of serious economic and social problems, and witness the ominous rise of totalitarian aggression in Europe and the Far East.

During this fateful ninety-four month period a number of distinguished gentlemen from East Texas were members of the House of Representatives. Without exception these congressmen were to play pivotal roles in shaping important New Deal legislation. Indeed the East Texans serving in the House throughout these exciting years were perhaps the most influencial group in either branch of Congress.

Two of the East Texans taking their oaths of office at the opening ceremonies on March 9, 1933 were Morgan G. Sanders of Canton and Luther A. Johnson of Corsicana. Sanders and Johnson were to become senior members of two of the most prestigious House committees.

Re-elected to his seventh term in 1932, Sanders served on the Committee on Ways and Means from March 9, 1933 until his retirement from public life on January 3, 1939. Two of Sanders' junior colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee were John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, a future Speaker of the House, and Fred M. Vinson of Kentucky, later to be Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Justice of the United States.[1] During these years Sanders was deeply involved in the committee's lengthy deliberations, which culminated in such major laws as the National Industrial Recovery Act, Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Social Security Act, and Revenue Acts of 1936 and 1938.[2]

First elected to Congress in 1922 Johnson was to serve twenty-four years in the House. Throughout the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt he was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and after July 1939 was the ranking Democrat on that organ. Recognized as one of his party's foremost spokesmen on foreign policy matters, Johnson was a key participant in the historic floor debates over America's role as a neutral prior to its involvement in World War II.[3] Johnson was appointed by the Speaker to the House-Senate conference committees having responsibility for finalizing the provisions of the Neutrality Acts of 1937 and 1939.[4]

Three other East Texans sworn in as members of the House on March 9, 1933 were Martin Dies, Jr., of Orange, Joseph J. Mansfield of Columbus, and Wright Patman of Texarkana. Representing primarily rural congressional districts, Dies, Mansfield, and Patman were all prominent during the New Deal period.

Dies in 1933 was beginning his second term as a congressman from the district previously represented by his father.[5] A staunch advocate of currency inflation, Dies authored the controversial Silver Purchase Act of 1934.[6] Appointed to the influencial Committee on Rules in 1935, he thereafter emerged as an unwavering critic of President Roosevelt's domestic legislative proposals and was especially vociferous in his op-

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position to the Fair Labor Standards (Wages and Hours) Act of 1938.[7] During the latter half of Roosevelt's second administration Dies attracted nationwide attention as Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities.[8]

Prior to entering the House in 1917, Mansfield had completed more than two decades as an official in Colorado County. Mansfield was Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, 1931-1947, serving in that capacity longer than any other chairman in the history of the committee.[9] Between 1933 and 1940 he was instrumental in the passage of legislation providing for one of the most ambitious federal public works programs hitherto undertaken, including the completion of the Intracoastal Waterway System and the construction of the Bonneville Project for Navigation in the Columbia River Valley.[10]

During Roosevelt's first administration Patman was vigilant in his efforts in behalf of legislation to benefit the veterans of World War I. Both in 1934 and 1935 the House passed the Veterans' Bonus (Patman) Bill, calling for full and immediate payment of the adjusted compensation certificates held by the former servicemen of World War I.[11] A modified version of the Patman Bill, the Adjusted Compensation Act, was finally passed by both Houses over the President's veto in 1936.[12] In the same year Patman also co-authored a landmark anti-trust law, the Federal Anti-Price Discrimination (Robinson-Patman) Act, prohibiting retail stores from restraining competition by charging unreasonably low prices.[13]

The three most renowned members of the House from East Texas during the New Deal years were James P. Buchanan of Brenham, Hatton W. Sumners of Dallas, and Sam Rayburn of Bonham. Buchanan, Sumners, and Rayburn served an aggregate total of one hundred and six years in Congress and were especially influencial between 1933 and 1940.

Buchanan represented a district which was produced several distinguished public figures over the past century.[14] After completing six years in the Texas House of Representatives, he was elected to the first of thirteen congressional terms in 1913. Chairman of the powerful Committee on Appropriations, 1933-1937, Buchanan played a vital role in the enactment of legislation providing for the expenditures necessary to implement the multitude of New Deal relief and recovery programs.[15] At the time of his death on February 24, 1937 President Roosevelt eulogized Buchanan as follows:

> A faithful and wise counselor, an indefatigable worker, has been lost to our national life in the passing of James P. Buchanan. As chairman of the great committee on appropriations of the House, he discharged his duties with great intelligence and strict fidelity.
>
> Unmoved by emotional appeal, above partisanship or sectionalism, he accepted the responsibilities of his trust with the single purpose of serving the highest interests of the nation as a whole. I personally mourn the loss of an old and staunch friend.[16]

Between 1931 and 1947 Sumners occupied the chairmanship of the Committee on the Judiciary. Sumners guided to passage the Crime Control Acts of 1934, seven measures designed to expand the jurisdiction of the federal government over the criminal activity plaguing the nation at that time.[17] Also in 1934 he authored the Municipal Bankruptcy Act, a statute which attempted to assist communities harmed by the adverse effects of the Great Depression.[18] During the second Roosevelt Administration, Sumners was one of the congressmen adamantly opposing the President's plans to enlarge the membership of the United States Supreme Court and reorganize the Executive Branch of the Government.[19] Moreover, he served as Vice-Chairman

of the Temporary National Economic Committee, which between 1938 and 1941 conducted the most comprehensive study of the nation's economic problems ever undertaken.[20]

One of the most illustrious political figures of the twentieth century, Rayburn's career in the House paralleled the administrations of eight Presidents. Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives at the time of his election to Congress in 1912, he was subsequently re-elected to twenty-four terms. Rayburn was to spend nearly a quarter of a century on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and was Chairman of that organ between 1931 and 1937. During the first Roosevelt Administration he authored such major laws as the Federal Securities Act,[21] Securities Exchange Act,[22] Public Utility Holding Company Act,[23] and Rural Electrification Act.[24] In January 1937 Rayburn was elevated to the post of House Majority Leader, in which capacity he assumed overall responsibility for the Democratic Party's voluminous legislative program.[25] On September 16, 1940 Rayburn was chosen by his colleagues to serve as Speaker of the House of Representatives, thus beginning an unsurpassed longevity as that body's presiding officer.[26]

The East Texans chosen to serve in the House of Representatives during the New Deal era performed with notable distinction. Not only did they occupy positions of profound influence in the House, but also they were instrumental in the passage of much landmark legislation. Compiling admirable records of public service at a crucial juncture in the nation's history, these gentlemen certainly rank among the most outstanding individuals ever to represent East Texas in the halls of Congress.[27]

NOTES

[1]McCormack served as Speaker of the House, 1962-1971, while Vinson was Secretary of the Treasury, 1945-1946, and Chief Justice of the United States, 1946-1953.

[2]House of Representatives, *Report on the bill (H. R. 5755) to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes,* May 23, 1933; *Report on the bill (H. R. 8676) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930,* March 17, 1934; *Report on the bill (H. R. 7620) to provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aging persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes,* April 5, 1935; *Report on the bill (H.R. 12395) to provide revenue, equalize taxation, and for other purposes,* April 21, 1936; *Report on the bill (H. R. 9682) to provide revenue, equalize taxation, and for other purposes,* March 1, 1938; United States Government, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington, 1933-1939), XLVIII, 195-211, 943-945; XLIX, 620,648, 1648-1756; LII, 447-584.

[3]United States Congress, *Congressional Record,* Seventy-Fourth Congress, Second Session (Washington, 1936), LXXX, 2244-2246; Seventy-Fifth Congress, First Session, LXXXI, 90-91, 2158-2166, 2264-2265, 2378-2402, 3975-3976; Seventy-Sixth Congress, First Session, LXXIV, 7988-7990, 8001, 8233-8341, 8485-8514; Seventy-Sixth Congress, Second Session, LXXXV, 337-343, 535-536, 666-668, 1107, 1163-1164, 1197, 1204-1205, 1284-1286, 1388.

[4]House of Representatives, *Conference Report on the joint resolution (S.J.Res. 51) to amend the Neutrality Act of 1935,* April 29, 1937; *Conference Report on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 306) to preserve the neutrality and the peace of the United States and to secure the safety of its citizens and their interests.* November 3, 1939; *Statutes at Large,* L, 121-128; LIV, 4-12; Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithica, 1966), 195-197, 216-217.

[5]Martin Dies, Sr., served in the House, 1909-1919, and was Chairman of the Committee on Canals, 1913-1917.

[6]*Congressional Record,* LXXVIII, 9983-10032, 10133-10136; *Statutes at Large,* XLVIII, 1178-1182; James D. Paris, *Monetary Policies of the United States, 1932-1938* (New York, 1938), 53-57.

[7]*Congressial Record,* LXXXII, 196-199, 1099-1101, 1385-1388, 1602, 1671, 1796-1797; LXXXIII, 7275-7278, 7416-7417, 7433-7434, 7439, 7447; James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal* (Lexington, 1967), 166-169, 179, 194-195, 243-245.

[8]A scholarly account of Dies' activities between 1938 and 1940 may be found in August R. Ogden, *The Dies Committee; A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities* (Washington, 1943), 38-231.

[9]The Committee on Rivers and Harbors was abolished by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and was replaced by the Committee on Public Works.

[10]*Congressional Record,* LXXIX, 5250-5280, 5334-5346, 13711-13730; LXXXI, 6697-6720, 7516-7552, 7606-7624, 8772-8777; LXXXIV, 5654-5682, 5732-5733, 10550-10551, 10586-10588, 10732-10733; *Statutes at Large,* XLIX, 1028-1049; L, 731-736, 844-856; LII, 802-808.

[11]The Patman Bill passed the House on March 12, 1934 by a margin of 295-125, but was reported adversely by the Senate Committee on Finance. The measure was

again approved by the House by a vote of 202-191 on March 21, 1935, and was subsequently rejected by the Senate by a majority of 52-35 on May 7, 1935. United States Senate, *Report on the bill (H. R. 1) to provide for controlled expansion of the currency and the immediate payment to veterans of the face value of their adjusted-service certificates*, June 6, 1934; *Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 85; LXXVIII, 4287-4338, 10556, 11286; George Creel, "Bonus Bill Patman," *Collier's*, May 1935, 25-64.

[12]*Congressional Record*, LXXX, 237-277, 288-295, 837-850, 975-977; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1099-1102; William P. Dillingham, *Federal Aid to Veterans, 1917-1941* (Gainesville, 1952), 166-168.

[13]*Congressional Record*, LXXX, 8102-8140, 8223-8242, 9413-9422; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1526-1528; Daniel J. Baum, *The Robinson-Patman Act* (Syracuse, 1964).

[14]This district has also been represented by the following individuals: Joseph D. Sayers, Governor of Texas, 1899-1903; Albert S. Burleson, Postmaster General of the United States, 1913-1921; Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, 1963-1969; and W. Homer Thronberry, Judge of the United States Court of Appeals (Fifth Judicial Circuit) since 1965.

[15]*Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 2822-2837, 2887-2907, 4097-4105, 5638-5653, 6029-6033; LXXVIII, 1938-1946, 2427-2429, 10407-10423, 12241-12250; LXXIX, 812-859, 899-972, 3481-3490, 3546-3578, 4128-4129, 5141-5151, 9781-9787, 9796-9812, 9853-9860, 12646-12653; LXXX, 6841-6874, 6924-7010, 7021-7033, 9765-9789; LXXXI, 435-469, 971-983, 1007-1008; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 97-104, 274-283, 351-352, 1021-1062; XLIX, 49-67, 115-119, 571-606, 1597-1648; L, 8-19.

[16]*Times*, New York, N.Y., February 24, 1937, 7.

[17]*Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 6656, 8126-8129, 8132-8133, 8775-8778; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 780-783, 794-795; "Extending Federal Powers over Crime," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, (October 1934), 399-508.

[18]*Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 5469-5488; LXXVIII, 8774-8775; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 798-803.

[19]*Congressional Record*, LXXXIII, 4876-4878, 5090, 5093; LXXXIV, 2498-2500, 2502-2503; Kenneth Harrell, "Southern Congressional Leaders and the Supreme Court Fight of 1937," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1959; Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*, 90, 92, 185-186, 300.

[20]United States Congress, *Final Report and Recommendations of the Temporary National Economic Committee*, Seventy-Seventh Congress, First Session (Washington, 1941).

[21]*Congressional Record*, LXXVII, 2916-2955, 3891-3903; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 74-95; William O. Douglas and George E. Bates, "The Federal Securities Act of 1933," *Yale Law Journal*, (December 1933), 171-217.

[22]*Congressional Record*, LXXVIII, 7693-7717, 7861-7869, 7920-7957, 8007-8040, 8086-8116, 10265-10269; *Statutes at Large*, XLVIII, 881-909; Michael E. Parrish, *Securities Regulation and the New Deal* (New Haven, 1970), 115-144; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston, 1956), 456-467.

[23]*Congressional Record*, LXXIX, 10301, 10327-10334, 10352-10393; 10414-10453, 10507-10575, 12265-12274, 14600-14627; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 803-863; Ronald A. Finlayson, "The Public Utility Holding Company Act under Federal Regulation," *The Journal of Business of the University of Chicago*, July 1946, Part 2, 1-41; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston, 1960), 302-324.

[24]*Congressional Record*, LXXX, 5280-5290, 5298, 5304, 5308, 5318, 5280-5318, 7245-7248; *Statutes at Large*, XLIX, 1363-1367.

[25]On January 4, 1937 Rayburn was elected Majority Leader, defeating Representative John J. O'Connor of New York by a margin of 184-127. Scholarly accounts of Rayburns's career may be found in C. Dwight Dorough, *Mr. Sam* (New York: Random House, 1962), 219-307 and Alexander G. Shanks, "Sam Rayburn: The Texas Politician and New Dealer," *East Texas Historical Journal* (March 1967), 51-59.

[26]Rayburn served as Speaker for seventeen years and sixty-two days, nearly twice as long as any other presiding officer in the history of the House. Second to Rayburn in length of service was his successor, John W. McCormack, who occupied the speakership for eight years and three hundred and fifty-eight days.

[27]These eight congressmen spend an aggregate total of two hundred and fifty-three years in federal service. Most of these gentlemen continued their careers after the end of the New Deal period. As previously mentioned, Mansfield and Sumners chaired their respective committees until 1947. Dies, after temporarily retiring from public life at the completion of his seventh term in 1945, returned to serve as Congressman-at-Large from Texas between 1953 and 1959. Johnson was Judge of the United States Tax Court, 1946-1956. Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency since January 1963, Patman is presently the senior member of Congress. Rayburn was Minority Leader, 1947-1949 and 1953-1955, Speaker, 1940-1947, 1949-1953, and 1955-1961, and Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Conventions of 1948, 1952, and 1956.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A BIG THICKET WOODSMAN

by B.L. Barrett

After reading *The Big Thicket* by Gunter, I wanted to sit down and absolutely cry because I felt like I had lost something that I could not recapture in my own life time, let alone later on for future generations. The most enjoyable thing in my life is to stroll the woods with my wife, daughters, and sons-in-law, and 7 grandchildren and find strange flowers, bushes, and trees that are rare to me, let alone to them. After the question is asked, "What is that Daddy or Pa-Pa?", sometime I have to go home and look up these shrubs myself, to know what they are. After living in and around the Big Thicket all my life, I am still filled with wonder at the beauty of it, but I am saddened by the destruction of it that is taking place hourly.

The first thing that should be said, after reading this book, is this: every one of the 200 million American stockholders, as Walter J. Hickel expressed it, should be up in arms. They should be ready to insure that our resources are not abused.

Mr. Hickel further states in his forward that we must never forget to consider what the value of land is, where a man, his children, and his children's children have the right to roam or the right to simply have a place in nature where they can refresh their spirits.

Roy Howric's superb photography gives us what little remains of the solitude and beauty of the plant life, along with the wild animals, that are left. These are things that we cannot buy on the New York Stock Exchange.

With these few remarks, I want to leave what they had to say and impart my own feelings and what I have had stored in the memories of my by gone days as a youth and as a man above his fiftieth year.

I was born in Fuqua, Texas. At this time, the saw mill there was one of the largest in the South. I can remember one day my mother took us about a mile or so from our little farm near the Santa Fe Railroad. We got lost gathering hickory nuts and I can remember how beautiful those virgin woods were, even though my mother, with two small children of 4 and 6 years old, was lost in a beautiful white oak, red oak, hickory, and pine forest. Although it seemed like there was no end of these beautiful trees, I had no fear of being lost because it was a place I wanted to stay in and not leave. We later found our way out of this beautiful forest. This was in the vicinity of Roymayor. I well remember that we could find horns that had shed off of the deer in the forest, and they were plentiful.

Another time our family of 5 children went along with my mother to gather grapes which grew in great quantities around Milvid and Roymayor in my early childhood. We cut down trees that had abundant clusters of grapes, which we gathered to make jelly and wine which were very delicious.

EDITOR'S NOTE. When A. Y. Gunter's The Big Thicket, A Challenge for Conservation, *published by the Jenkins Company and the Chatham Press, came in for review, the problem was to find the appropriate person to do it. There are several "authorities" on this subject, but none seemed just right. We determined to ask Mr. B. L. Barrett, of Beaumont, to read the book and give us a review in his own words. Mr. Barrett has given us more than a review; he has given us the impressions of one who lived through the events that Gunter wrote about. Mr. Gunter and his publisher, we felt, would not mind us expanding a review of their work into this larger article. The book is available for $12.50 through the Austin office of the Jenkins Company.*

Another place that brought back many happy memories of my childhood was where we use to go to a lake right out in the middle of the forest, called Hardwood Lake, out from Milvid, 2 miles from the Trinity River, where we had a large wooden boat that would hold 5 or 6 people comfortably. We always carried a dog with us, and we would catch plenty of goggle-eye perch, sun perch and catfish with pole and line. But the dog had to be kept quite on account of large alligators would come toward us if he started to bark, and they would scare the women folk.

I remember one time when we were assisted by a number of our neighbors going to the woods and cutting several small, low trees to gather moss to make a moss mattress. We gathered the moss and then burried it in the ground so that it would die or scald it with hot water, and then we put it out in the sun to dry.

After making the mattress and sleeping on it about a year or two, we would remove it from the ticking and pull it apart to remove the knotty lumps that was caused by sleeping on it. If you have never slept on a moss mattress that has been sunned and picked you have missed one of the most exillerating experiences of your life. The aroma and smell alone is an experience that you can never forget.

Another experience that I remember happened when I was 10 and 11 years old and occurred after my mother remarried and we had moved from Silsbee, Texas back to Milvid, Texas. We lived in a Company house and the mill was owned by Wesley West Lumber Company. Often as a boy, I would turn our old blue tick hound dog loose late in the afternoon and he would jump the back rail fence which was about a block behind the house and run down to a small branch that ran through the wood, often treeing a coon within minutes after turning him out.

I would follow this old dog and try to help him get the coon out of the tree but I was too small to do so. After Old Blue and I got tired the old dog would lead me back home.

Many a Sunday afternoon after going to Sunday School I would rove the beautiful woods which had some of the largest Magnolia trees I have ever seen any where; the trees would measure 4' and 5' in diameter and would have branches 12" - 15" in diameter. We would climb these large trees to gather their blossoms, and you could walk through the woods and never be out of the range of the swell of them, and often times we would watch other people cut large, green trees down just to gather honey from where the bees made their hives.

I am relating just a few of these experiences to show the public what a small boy who was raised in a saw mill town in the Big Thicket enjoyed and got a fortune in enjoyment and experience by being raised in a place that only God could give to man. But how long will this destruction of that place go on before mankind will be deprived completely of these invaluable experiences.

As a man, I often hunted deer and squirrels near Sartoga, Honey Island, and the Sour Lake area toward Nome. I remember one time I was in the Nome-Sour Lake area when the frost came early and all of the leaves were still on the trees, and at one time they turned a golden brown-yellow, and some were pink, and the pin oaks were scattered with their green foliage. This picture will forever be captured in my mind.

Also I was hunting up above Thicket, Texas, near Saratoga and was camped on the swift running creek called Manard Creek. I don't think there is any prettier creek in Texas.

Also where else can you find a wild pecan orchard like the one that grows wild on the banks of the Trinity River.

You can walk in the woods of the Big Thicket a life time and you will discover different plant life, different things that you hadn't seen before. It's there, if only you

can discover the hidden mysteries and species of plants, trees, and animals. It's there if humanity will only save it for future generations.

I will say this and say it in all sincerity: how can a public relations man paint a picture of a growing forest as shown in Gunter's book, or an executive in a 20 story office building filled with cigar smoke and with plush furniture ever hope to clear the cob webbs out of their brains to ever appreciate what we have until the well run's dry. The pillage and rape was done early by the small jerk water saw mills, and tie mills, then by the hand-hewn ties and then by the white oak stave wood cutters to make wooden barrells, to be hauled to stave mills to make barrells to store whiskey, beer, wine, and pickles, also lard barrells. I saw at Milvid on the Santa Fe Railroad siding and other places thousand on thousands of white oak staves waiting to be shipped to the mills.

And the Major oil companies had their part in destroying this beautiful country by pumping salt water into the sloughs and creeks, destroying the ferns, shrubs and vegetation.

The Big Thicket Association for years, as Gunter says, compromised with the companies, and listened to their claims about re-growing the thicket and being stewards of the land. Now the facts are clear as bulldozed clay and burning hardwood: if we don't begin to change, there will be nothing left, no game, no birds, no wildflowers, no ferns, no trace of a once Great Wilderness.

I firmly believe we must establish a Big Thicket area or park, as large as possible, to keep the developers away.

The story of the large companies and paper mills that run big ads in the newspapers about trying to save the large green forest with game inside these rows of pine saplings is ridiculous.

It reminds me of the story that Gordon Baxter related over the radio:

> Surely that substance that came from the polluted Neches River and turned it Black, and put that smell in the air didn't come from a paper mill. But that old tom cat like to have worked himself to death scratching a hole in the ground to cover it up.

I would like to remind the people that there is still a chance to save the wild life in the Big Thicket. No later than a year ago I was going to my camp in the woods near the Sabine River, which was dense hardwood forest. It was late in the afternoon in March, just before dark, when mayhaws were ripe. My wife and niece were supposed to have been at my camp after gathering these mayhaws, but I couldn't find them. So, I went hunting for them. I walked down the slough that ran close to the river and inside my land. When I got to a fence, I knew my wife would not have gone any farther, so I started to a small camp house we had near a back woods lake, to see if my wife had decided to stay there. I heard a movement among the under brush too far from me to distinguish what it was. When I stopped to listen for the noise, it ceased. I went on to the little camp house and found my wife. It was dark by this time and as I sat down to drink a cup of coffee a panther let out 2 blood-curdling yells which made the hair stand up on the back of my neck even though I wasn't afraid, because I knew what it was. The two women looked at me half astonished like and asked, "What was that?" Naturally, I didn't want to alarm them because I might never get them back to this camp house again. So I said, "That was just an old screech owl," and said no more. About 3 months later I told my wife the truth. But right then, I was afraid that she might become frightened and never again enjoy walking in the forest by herself.

I have heard stories from other people that they had been stalked by panthers. They are a curious sort of an animal, although I have never heard of anyone being hurt

by them. I know in my early childhood days I could hear these wild panthers yell out while they were hunting food in the forest. Some people compare their sound to a woman's voice hollering, but their first note sounds similar to a screech owl when they begin.

Back in my boyhood days, I can remember when I would go camping out along the rivers and creeks of the Big Thicket. We could catch bull frogs at night among the back woods lakes, catch lizzards to use as a lure on the end of a long cane pole with about 12" of line and 3 hooks forming a bridle. We would carry the lizzards in a Prince Albert Tobacco can with nail holes punched in the can so the lizzards could breathe. We only used about 3 of these to catch all of the bass we needed to eat. After putting the lizzard on the bridle we would creep up close to a deep hole along the creek banks and drop the lizzard on top of the water so he could wiggle or swim, and sure enough, the water would boil no sooner than the lizzard hit the water. Afterwards, we would set limb-lines or trot-lines across the river or creek, and bait them with crawfish or perch. We often came home with plenty of bass, frogs, and catfish. Oh, I forgot to tell you, we often shined the eyes of an alligater when hunting frogs with a acetyelene head light at night. The alligators would just sit and stare at you while you caught Mr. Frog, or just move off in the opposite direction from where you shined their eyes with the light.

These are some of the experiences that I hope to preserve for your grandson and mine, so that when they get older they can listen in the woods and not hear anything that sounds like it is man-made, so he can hear at a far off distance the hoot of an owl, the bang of a wood pecker, or the beautiful song of a thrush, the call of a wood duck and late in the afternoon when the old bullfrogs hit a high base note, the screech of a lonely crow that has been disturbed by a wild cat trying to catch a bird near the water, or a crow making a feed call or sounding an alarm when danger is approaching. These are the sounds that we need so that man can soothe his thoughts and forget his trials and tribulations and relax among the God-given birth right of nature in all of its glory.

I think that all a person needs to do is make a tour of several countries in Europe as I did once and you will notice people go to parks and other small areas to stroll on week ends, to try to get away from the hustle and bustle of crowds and city life.

But I never saw very many places in the seven countries that I visited where you could really get away from it all, you are never out of the sight of people or cars or houses. All they have left is a story book tale of a Sherwood forest, or Black Forest, or Picidilly Park. I don't care for this.

In the name of common sense let's not fence ourselves in.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

by Bobby Johnson

The East Texas Historical Association held its spring 1973 meeting at Tyler Junior College on March 24. Adverse weather kept attendance down, but those present concluded that it was a good meeting.

The first session consisted of papers by Dr. Deward C. Brown of Texas Christian University and W. T. Block of Nederland. Dr. Brown spoke on "Texas and the Catholic Issue in the Presidential Campaign of 1960," while Block discussed "Dutch Immigration of Jefferson and Chambers Counties during the Period 1895-1915." Dr. E. M. Potter, academic vice president of Tyler Jr. College, welcomed the group.

The second session was a symposium on "Regional Historical Associations and the National Bicentennial Celebration: Prospects and Possibilities." Participants were Mrs. Gene Jones Riddle of the ARBC in Austin, Dr. Edward H. Phillips of Austin College, and Dr. Frank H. Smyrl of East Texas State University.

Dr. Ralph W. Goodwin, president of the Association, spoke at the luncheon held in Wyatt's Cafeteria. His topic was "Our Association in the Seventies: Projecting for the Future."

The Association wishes to thank Dr. Goodwin for preparing the program and Tyler Jr. College for hosting it. Bob Glover of the Social Sciences Department at Tyler served as local arrangements chairman.

Most of you are probably already aware that the Stephen F. Austin State University Library has a new multi-million dollar physical facility.

The Special Collections Department, in particular, has three times as much floor space in the new building. In addition, the department has a humidity control system, a fire detection system, microfilm readers, and a large, confortably furnished, reading area. Also, those who use the department will now have easy access to Xerox service. The department is located on the second floor of the four-story structure, along with the Humanities subject division. The scope of the department is still East Texas life, culture, economy, and history.

Gloria Frye, Special Collections Librarian, invites our members to use the department for research purposes and to view various displays of rare books and documents.

As the nation approaches the bicentennial celebration of the American Revolution, the state commission moves on with its plans for the anniversary here in Texas. Promotional literature indicates a wide range of activities already underway and many more in the planning stages. Hopefully, the celebration will spread to every community in the state. Because of its rich historical heritage, East Texas should be in the forefront of this effort. The *Journal* will be happy to print news of any Bicentennial activity in our region. Please send your news items on this or any other historical developments to Box 6223, SFA, Nacogdoches, Texas.

Sam Kinch, Sr. of Austin is chairman of the ARBC in Texas, and Gene Jones Riddle is executive director.

One East Texas community, Grapeland, has been busy with its own historical celebration. An interesting little book, "Crossroads to Progress," commemorates Grapeland's centennial year. Filled with pictures and articles, the book capsules Grapeland's development from 1872 to 1972. Mrs. Ava Bush, a member of the Association,

wrote two articles. The community celebration also included a pageant entitled "We'll Call it Grapeland," presented last October.

Speaking of local history, the American Association for State and Local History continues to sent us its excellent publication, *History News*. The November 1972 issue lists a number of awards in state and local history, including commendations to two authors of books touching upon Texas. Lawrence D. Rice was cited for *The Negro in Texas*, published by the Louisiana State University Press, and William Seale for *Sam Houston's Wife*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

A useful article, "Effective Public Relations: Communicating Your Image," appeared in the March 1973 issue of *History News*. All historically-oriented groups could profit from the tips offered by Robert Wheeler of the Minnesota Historical Society.

A film on Sacred Harp singing in Mississippi is available for rental, according to to the American Folklore *Newsletter*. Shot by the Extension Division of the University of Mississippi, the 16mm film may be rented by writing Robert D. Oesterling, Division of Extension, University of Mississippi, University, Miss., 38677.

Our own State Historical Survey Committee recently announced that Miss Mavis Bryant has been appointed curator of the Sam Rayburn House in Bonham. This state-owned historical museum was schedule to open in the fall of 1973. In addition to overseeing the property, Miss Bryant will be engaged in research on Rayburn's life and will act as a consultant for the Historical Survey Committee to museums throughout North and East Texas. A native of Denison, Miss Bryant holds a B.A. from Stanford University and an M.A. from the University of Texas.

The Special Collections Department of the Stephen F. Austin State University Library now has the Lutcher-Moore Lumber Company records processed. Henry Jacob Lutcher and G. Bedell Moore formed a partnership sometime during the 1860's which evolved into the Lutcher-Moore Lumber Company. Lutcher and Moore visited Texas in 1876 and decided to establish a saw mill and lumber plant in Orange. Moore soon moved to San Antonio and engaged in real estate enterprises, but Lutcher went on to become a noted developer of the Texas Gulf Coast area. The Lutcher-Moore records were donated to Stephen F. Austin by Boise Southern Company of DeRidder, Louisiana. The material, acquired by the University in the Fall of 1971, consists of over 44,000 items, including 34 ledgers. These records are contained in 185 boxes. Among the items are such things as timber estimates, maps, records of land, forestry records, and general correspondence.

The Special Collections Department has also done much of the processing on the Kirby and Temple Lumber Company records.

Stephen F. Austin was again fortunate this past Fall (1972) when the Library acquired approximately 1600 books of Texana donated by Arthur E. Thomas, a retired Dallas architect. The collection was appraised by John H. Jenkins of Austin and valued at $28,500.00 All but forty of the books are out-of-print and are either scarce or rare.

Walsworth Publishing Company, long active in state and local history, advises us that new technical processes have allowed them to double the production capabilities

of their book publishing plant. Consequently, the company has a new printing program for historical publications, including county and city histories, centennial books, and reprints of existing books. Those interested should write Rush Johnson, Jr., Walsworth Publishing Co., Marceline, Mo., 64658.

Information on the National Museum Act Program is available from the Smithsonian Institution. The guidelines indicate that local museums may seek federal assistance. Interested persons should write to Frederick Schmid, Assistant Director, Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 20560.

The Former Texas Rangers Association, Inc., is joining in the 150th anniversary of Texas' legendary law enforcement body. This is a statewide organization with headquarters at the Memorial Hall in Brackenridge Park, San Antonio. The group is currently working to keep the headquarters building open most of the year, but it is in need of more members. Descendants of Texas Rangers are urged to join the organization. The state office is located in the First Victoria National Bank Building, Victoria, Texas.

EAST TEXAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Minutes
Board of Directors Meeting
Spring 1973

The Board of Directors of the East Texas Historical Association met Saturday, March 24, 1973, in the Conference Room of the Vaughn Library on the campus of Tyler Junior College. The following members were present: Lee Lawrence, Dr. Robert Cotner, Dr. Robert Maxwell, Dr. James Nichols, Dr. Archie McDonald, Dr. Ralph Goodwin, Mr. Maury Darst, Mrs. W. S. Terry, and Mrs. Tommie Jan Lowery.

The following items of business were discussed:

1. The minutes of the October meeting were approved.
2. The financial statement was discussed. A motion to approve the statement was made by Mr. Lawrence, the second made by Dr. Cotner, and the Board approved.
3. In a report on the Status of the Spring issue of the *Journal,* Dr. McDonald stated that these should be in the mail the following week.
4. Dr. Goodwin asked for a discussion of an award in honor of Dr. Chamberlain. A motion was made by Dr. Nichols that a Charles Kincheloe Chamberlain Award be established to honor the author of the best *Journal* article each year. The motion included a committee composed of Chairman- Dr. Goodwin, Maury Darst, and Lee Lawrence to work out the details of the award and to choose the first recepient from the articles in Volume 10. After a second by Dr. Maxwell, the Board approved.
5. A letter of resignation from Dr. John Payne of Sam Houston State University was read to the Board. The Board expressed its regret at his resignation. To fill the vacancy on the Board of Directors created by this resignation, Mr. Lawrence nominated Dr. Claude Hall of Texas A & M University. Dr. Maxwell seconded the motion and the Board approved.
6. The date of the Fall meeting was set as October 13, 1973.
7. The Board expressed its regret that Mr. F. I. Tucker could not be at the meeting and wished him a speedy recovery.
8. The possibilities for increasing membership were discussed. Dr. Goodwin suggested that the Board look into the possibility of an Executive Secretary being appointed.

Mr. Darst reported on his attempt to secure interest, and Mr. Lawrence stressed the need to build a membership from interested lay and professional historians who will attend meetings and remain with the organization over the years.
The meeting adjourned at 9:15

Respectfully submitted,
Tommie Jan Lowery
Secretary-Treasurer

Anne Clarke's *Historical Homes of San Augustine* continues to receive favorable reviews. One of the latest appeared in the *Houston Post* in March, when reviewer William Seale described the book as "a selective description of the fabric of a town." He praised the work, published by Encino Press, for celebrating the life of a small town as it is.

Francis Ingraham Tucker, a charter member of the East Texas Historical Association, died at his home in Nacogdoches on April 27, 1973. Mr. Tucker served as the second president of the Association and has been continuously a member of the Board of Directors for the past nine years. He was deeply interested in state and local history and was one of the early promoters of such a society dedicated to the preservation and advancement of the history of the East Texas region.

Born on June 4, 1900, F. I. Tucker grew up in Nacogdoches among pioneers who could remember Texas as an independent republic. From these early settlers Mr. Tucker learned not only local history but many tales of folklore with which he often regaled his younger companions. His reminiscences were replete with accounts of such figures as Sam Houston, James Starr, Thomas J. Rusk, Anna Reguet, and Adolphus Sterne. Mr. Tucker attended the University of Texas, where he worked on the staff of the *Daily Texan,* studied law under the direction of Judge J. J. Greve, and was admitted to the Texas bar in 1927. For more than forty years he was a prominent lawyer in his home town and well-known throughout the state. He was a member of the Texas State Bar Association, the American Bar Association, and practiced before the Federal Commerce Court. He was an active churchman in Christ Episcopal Church in Nacogdoches, serving repeatedly as vestryman and Warden. He was a director of the Commercial National Bank, and the First Federal Savings and Loan Association. At various times he served as member of the Nacogdoches Historical commission and the Nacogdoches County Historical Survey Committee.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Eunice O'Hara Tucker, one daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Thompson of McAllen, and two grandchildren. The officers and members of the East Texas Historical Association join his family in mourning the untimely passing of F. I. Tucker, a true gentleman and historical scholar.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis — A Study in Historical Creativity. Ray Allen Billington. San Marino, California (The Huntington Library Press), 1971. P. 298 + bibliographical note. $8.50.

Frederick Jackson Turner and his frontier thesis have stood before historiographers like a mountain that allows no rest until it has been conquered. Countless historians have swarmed over the face of the mountain since it arose volcano-like in 1893, but with his recent definitive biography of Turner, added to his exhaustive tracing of the evolution of the Turner thesis in this book, Ray Allen Billington has erected his flag on the very summit. One can heave a sigh of relief that Everest has been conquered and historians can now concern themselves with other, perhaps lesser, peaks.

Readers wishing to learn more about Turner would do better to peruse the biography, but those interested in the history of ideas, and the frontier hypothesis especially, ought to turn to this formidable study. Much of the tracing of Turner's thesis has been done already by such historians as Fulmer Mood, Lee Benson, and Wilbur Jacobs. Billington has dotted some "i's" and crossed some "t's" to add the final bits of knowledge to the genesis of Turner's concept. To those unfamiliar with the work of the earlier Turner scholars Billington's microscopic tracing of the idea from sperm to birth is worth reading, for in spite of the tediousness of the material and some repetition Billington's treatment is highly competent and cultivated.

To no one's surprise, Billington demonstrates that the various ideas that make up Turner's famous thesis did not originate with him but had become part of the cultural baggage of the late nineteenth century. What Turner did was to synthesize these ideas into a potent package at the right time and stamp the thesis with his incisive, eloquent brand. Billington shows how the frontier-like society into which Turner was born, Portage, Wisconsin, predisposed him to be sensitive to the West as a key to American history. The decisive influence of Professor William F. Allen at the University of Wisconsin and a remarkable group of teachers and colleagues at Johns Hopkins and again Wisconsin sharpened Turner's tools and insight, and the times did the rest, with the new social sciences reaching a stage of development in 1893 that made an hypothesis such as Turner's almost inevitable.

While the evolutionary nature of the genesis of Turner's thesis strips him of some heroic dimensions, Billington's study shows that Turner was a giant of an historian nonetheless. The character and quality of the man are revealed especially in the interesting correspondence Turner had with William E. Dodd, Constance Skinner, Carl Becker, and Merle Curti. Not without flaws, Turner was certainly a gentleman and a germinal scholar. No one can waste his time in such company, no matter how hackneyed the subject. For East Texas historians Turner will always be a scholar to reckon with, for sectionalism and the interdisciplinary approach to a region were of vital concern to this pioneering historian who made Western history something far greater than a romance of "Cowboys and Indians."

Edward Hake Phillips
Austin College

Observations & Reflections on Texas Folklore. Edited & with photographs by Francis Edward Abernethy. Line drawings by James R. Snyder. Austin (The Encino Press), 1972. P. viii + 151. $7.95.

During more than half a century and under a succession of distinguished editors, thirty-six numbered publications of the Texas Folklore Society came out of its office

on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. But between the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh publications, the Society shifted its office to the campus of Stephen F. Austin State University at Nacogdoches and, perforce, changed editors. Publication XXXVII, *Observations & Reflections on Texas Folklore,* the first production from the new office of the Society, was edited by Francis Edward Abernethy and dedicated to Wilson M. Hudson, Jr., last Secretary-Editor (1964-1971) and Fellow of the Texas Folklore Society. In "A Preface" Abernethy tells about the move:

> We moved during the burnt-out end of August, Wilson and I, in the midst of posting final grades, campus construction, and a quiet sadness. We sweated and cussed some as we packed the Society's materials in cardboard boxes and carried them out to the station wagon parked behind Parlin Hall. We took down the pictures of Lomax and Payne and some Cisneros sketches that had been used in *The Healer of Los Olmos.* Frank Dobie's old felt hat with a turkey feather in the band was sitting on a filing cabinet, so we put it in. Very gently we loaded a box of Mody's paisanos, five or six of them . . .

To one who has read all thirty-seven publications, a majority of them as they came from the press, that succinct passage means more than meets the casual eye, because it tells of the end of one era, the beginning of another. And though he may look backward with nostalgia, he can look forward with expectation, for both the book and the editor have met the standards set by their predecessors, and both promise that the Texas Folklore Society and its publications will continue to flourish.

Abernethy has produced a book that will stick in your mind like a grassbur in your sock. Don't be misled because it is thin—fourteen essays and a smidgen of fillers put together in a balanced sampling of Texana preserved by such oldtimers as J. Frank Dobie and Mody Boatright, and by comers such as Joyce Roach and Sarah Greene. If this is the kind of writing you like, don't begin the book until you can spare a couple of hours for pleasure, because you won't read far before you are caught up in recollections from which there'll be no quick return.

Some readers will remember Abernethy, Professor of English at Stephen F. Austin State University, as editor of *Tales from the Big Thicket.* For those who don't, "Singing All Day & Dinner on the Grounds," his contribution to *Observations & Reflections,* will tell more about him than a reviewer could.

Sid Cox
Texas A & M University

Historic Homes of San Augustine. Anne Clark, compiler. Austin, Texas (The Encino Press), 1972. P. 72 + illus. $10.00

The appearance of this handsome little book on the homes of San Augustine is a welcome addition to the small but growing list of publications which deal with the architecture of Texas. San Augustine is rich in history and houses, possessing among other historic structures three of the finest Greek Revival houses in Texas: the Captain Blount House, the Matthew Cartwright House and the Cullen House. Now, the story of these houses has been set down and related to the people and events which make the history of San Augustine.

San Augustine is fortunate in the longevity of so many of its first families, which leads to continuous connections with family houses and to memories and anecdotes passed from one generation to another. It is from this and other sources that Mrs. Clark

and her associates have drawn to give us a record of these houses, often from the original builder down to the present occupants.

Architecturally, the houses are allowed to tell their own story through the fine photography of Jim Alvis. He has obviously taken great pains to portray each house from the best angle and in the best light to reveal its special qualities. In addition, unlike most books of this kind, there are many revealing details which add greatly to our understanding of the architecture. The cornice of the Stephen Blount House and the door of the Norwood-Legrand House are examples. The photography is straightforward, no over dramatization or interpretation, for a subject which is as simple and as unaffected as these nineteenth century Texas homes.

Of minor significance are a few questions concerning the description of some of the houses, such as the use of the term colonial to describe a house erected by General Henderson after 1840 or the description of the Polk-Sharp House as having twenty-four windows of eight lights when the photograph indicates that there must be eight windows of twenty four lights, more commonly described as twelve over twelve. More critical, however, is the description of the Brookeland Depot as having been "painstakingly restored to its original atmosphere." It is evident from the photograph that the building does not retain the original atmosphere of a railroad station. It may, of course, be a very successful example of the adaptive use of a building, and it is often desirable to save a building through reuse, as this charming farm house illustrates. The line between restoration and remodeling is difficult to establish, but in order to promote a better understanding of what restoration is, historians must use the term with discrimination.

Those who love old houses and enjoy the visual manifestations of history will find many pleasures herein.

Drury B. Alexander
University of Texas at Austin

Historic Texas Churches. By Cordelia Brown McFall. Fort Worth (Branch-Smith, Inc.) 1971. P. 135. $6.95.

This small volume presents brief sketches of fifty historic churches in Texas, and it contains pictures of forty-four of them. It contains considerable interesting information and the pictures themselves give some idea of the variety of architecture among the buildings. It would have been helpful if the sketches had provided information about the sources of data.

The volume suffers severely from the lack of adequate editorial and typographical attention. These are only a few examples among many: John Connally is John Connelly; the Big Bend area is Big Ben; the noun, pastor, is used frequently as a verb; single quotes are used when they should be double; ministers are haphazardly labeled as "the Reverend Shepperd," "The Rev. Tittle," "Rev. Fowler." (and the Rev. Littleton Fowler is once referred to as "Rev. Littleton"), there is no consistent use of punctuation marks; and capitalization runs rampant without rhyme or reason (i.e., "the Great Old Hymns").

One common element of many of these churches is that they have been granted official Texas State Historical Markers. The volume emphasizes the devotion shown by early ministers and laity.

Walter N. Vernon
Historian, North Texas Conference
United Methodist Church

Along Texas Old Forts Trail. By Rupert N. Richardson. Abilene, Texas (Neil Fry) 1972. P. 30. + map, illus. $1.95.

This is a short but descriptive book, interestingly written, about the establishment of a line of forts in Central Texas in an attempt to protect local residents from the menace of the Plains Indians. The author, a well-known Southwestern historian, begins with the most northerly fort and proceeds, counter-clock wise, covering the chain of forts and towns as far south as Mason, Texas. Accompanied with a map to show their locations, each fort and town in the circle is discussed, giving its name, origin, reason for being established, a brief history, and an important event, where appropriate. Each fort or town having an important resident is given special attention, thus the mention of such men as Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, George H. Thomas, and Randal S. Mackenzie. The histories give only a brief introduction to each location, yet they are packed with facts, names, and dates.

Of great value to the book is the art work of H. C. Zachry, who captures the feeling of the West in his sketches of Indians and soldiers.

The book can be used as a guidebook for tourists, and is written to further the objectives of the Texas Forts Trail Association by sparking interest in tourism in Central Texas.

Linda J. Cross
Tyler, Texas

Maverick Tales. By J. D. Rittenhouse. New York (Winchester Press), 1971. P. 233, + biblio., index. $8.95.

In *Maverick Tales* Jack Rittenhouse has done a superb job of telling a dozen stories of early Texas. While these stories are not new to students of Texas history, Rittenhouse has improved upon the older versions in almost every case. He estimates that he traveled some 100,000 miles while gathering material for his book, and, indeed, the extensive bibliography he supplies for each story shows that he has been diligent in his research. Moreover, he writes with an exceptionally pleasing style and has a keen sense of humor—qualities that are rare in much of the writing about Texas and the Southwest.

The first story of the twelve is an account of La Salle's unsuccessful settlement, Fort St. Louis, and the murder of the iron-willed Frenchman in 1687, when he was trying to get back to Canada for help and supplies. Rittenhouse avoids the argument about the exact place of La Salle's death, accepting the town of Navasota as the spot, since, he reminds us, the reader should be "remembering the man more than the place."

In "Filibusters West," an account of the ill-fated Magee-Gutierrez expedition, Rittenhouse tells another exciting story without wasting much time speculating on the cause of Magee's mysterious death at La Bahia or the question whether the Spanish general Arredondo lured the Republican army into a trap at the Battle of Medina or was simply lucky in exploiting an accidental advantage.

The other stories—notably "Confederates on the Rio Grande," "Black Day for the Navy," and "Slaughter on the Plains"—are also well told. The best tale of the twelve is "Log Jam—Texas Size," a fascinating description of how Lieutenant Woodruff of the Army engineers spent a year breaking through the 150-mile log jam in the Red River which was a far more serious impediment to navigation that the famous "Raft" in the Colorado.

The last story, "What a Way to Go," is what Rittenhouse accurately describes as a "catalog of bizarre ends to gunfighter careers" and is pretty gruesome even for persons

used to movie and television violence. Southwestern gunfighters met death from causes as varied as scalping by Indians, a blow from an ice mallet, suicide, a shot in the back, a fall from a windmill ladder, and, in the case of Texas outlaw Green McCullough, a proper lynching "by friends" at San Antonio.

The reviewer can find little to quarrel with in this entertaining book. There is, however, the little matter of a date that is of some importance to Texans: the Battle of San Jacinto was fought on April 21, not March 21, as the author has undoubtedly been reminded of by now. And where is that story of the Fitzsimmons-Maher boxing excapade on a Rio Grande sandbar? It is promised the reader on the dust jacket, but it is not in the book. Perhaps, at the last minute, the editors decided to leave it out for fear that thirteen stories would bring the book undeserved bad luck.

John Payne
Sam Houston State University

The Western Peace Officer A Legacy of Law and Order. By Frank Prassel. Norman, Oklahoma (University of Oklahoma Press), 1972. P. 330 + preface, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, biblio., index. $8.95.

Texas and Texans figure prominently in this sweeping and scholarly survey of peace officers and the agencies they represented as they went about attempting to serve process, apprehend wanted men, and maintain and keep the peace. United States marshals, county sheriffs, town marshals, Texas Ranger, and the New Mexico Mounted Police—all these and more are delineated sharply and their duties well defined. When speaking of the need for local and village enforcement, the author points out, for example, that, during the early nineteenth century, the Mexican government provided "early East Texas with nothing in the form of police," so that local *comisarios* of police established various types of community controls.

Indeed, in a certain broad sense, the entire volume might be said to focus upon controls used by law-enforcement officers to uphold ordinances and statutes. This, of course, is over-simplication, for others facets of enforcement are not neglected. Social philosophies and individual personalities are as important in programs of control as are the proper use of the *posse comitatus* and even the handgun and nightstick. Throughout the volume, the author, properly enough, discusses fundamental and essential points of view which conditioned enforcement. He writes, for example, that western conditions of social disorder did not spring "full blown" from uninhabited western frontiers, but "developed with the arrival of settlers." (p.5). He says that land itself was a primary cause of criminal design and that "Social misfits fighting a barbaric foe became a basic equation for disorder." (p.6). And it is pleasant and satisfying to read that "Most western areas were really very peaceful when compared with urban centers in the East." (p.8).

The general reader will profit by this amply documented and well-written volume as much as will the historian of law and order or persons involved in enforcement. Texans, who are not familiar with Walter Prescott Webb's *The Texas Ranger*, will find a balanced account of the Ranger and his activities, even though there is little really new. Although the author does an honest job in discussing the role of the United States marshal and his deputies, one could wish that a little more background had been presented. After all, in an earlier portion of the study, he reaches back into the Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages for antecedents. The federal marshal in the West after the Civil War faced no more high adventure than he had on other frontiers previous to

the war. Yet this criticism need not be taken too seriously, for one cannot do all within the covers of a single volume.

All in all, the eight chapters plus a stimulating epilogue and appendices, result in a praiseworthy contribution, which is well balanced and reliable. The bark of six-guns is subordinated to sober, quiet analysis, which, in a sense, is far more exciting than is the noise of horses' hooves as a hastily organized posse rides hell-bent-for-leather in pursuit of a train robber. It is especially cheering to read that "Frontier lawmen did not bring peace and order to the American West." (p.253). If that be treason. . .

Philip D. Jordan
Burlington, Iowa

The Cowboy in American Prints. Edited by John Meigs. Chicago (The Swallow Press, Inc.), 1972. P. 184. $15.00. (Limited edition, $75.00).

The myth of the cowboy is a predominant one in the history of the American West. The cowboy holds a special place not only in western legends but also in western art. *The Cowboy in American Prints* reproduces more than 100 woodcuts, engravings, lithographs, etchings and pen drawings which, in a large part, were responsible for the popularization and sometimes even the creation of the cowboy myth. Ranging from the 1850's to the present day, the artists represented include Charles Russell, W. A. Rogers, Frederick Remington, Theodore Van Soelen, Paul Frenzeny, William M. Cary, Jules Tavernier, Peter Hurd, Justin Wells, Gordon Snidow, Henry Ziegler, Thomas Hart Benton, Lawrence Barrett, Georges Schreiber, and many others.

Editor John Meigs has written a fascinating introduction to the book in which he traces the history and development of the cowboy illustrations. Aided by new and speedier processes of printing and illustrating, the periodicals of the last half of the 19th century provided information, knowledge and adventure for the American people of the period. Such periodicals as *Harper's Weekly Illustrated Magazine, Gleason's Pictorial, The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, Scribner's Monthly,* and *Police Gazette* sent out a growing group of reporters and authors to search out adventure in the West and to report on the life of the cowboy.

The work of these early illustrators provided the foundation of the cowboy myth. Eastern artists such as W. A. Rogers, Frederick Remington and Charles Schreyvogel made several trips to the west to observe and record the life of the cowboy and continued to paint western scenes from memory and sketchbooks after their return to the east. Others, such as Charles Russell, lived and painted in the west. By the 1890's photo-engraving replaced woodcuts as the means of reproduction of the illustrations. The improved process reproduced paintings instead of drawings and allowed for a more accurate illustration of the artist's work. The twentieth century artists represented give a broad cross section of contemporary western artists.

The Cowboy in American Prints would be a valuable addition to any library. The rarely seen magazine illustrations of the late nineteenth century give a broader perspective on the work of the artists represented. The illustrations are important not only for their artistic value, but for their role in the creation of the cowboy myth as well. The stories and myths about the cowboy were created by these reporters and artists and presented to the American public by the popular magazines of the day. Editor John Meigs has brought together a collection of illustrations which created an American hero—the cowboy.

Janet Jelen
Norman, Oklahoma

A Thousand Miles of Mustangin'. By Ben K. Green. Flagstaff, Arizona (Northland Press), 1972. P. 145. $8.50.

One of two recent books from Ben K. Green is *A Thousand Miles of Mustangin'*. Similar in many ways to his earlier popular works but "plenty enough" different to please a wide reading audience, this slim volume contains elements of high adventure, humor, tragedy, and even a little horse tradin'. More serious than humorous, the book falls short of equaling the earlier *Shield Mares*, which the author would quickly admit, but to which he would reply, "Hell, there ain't but one *Shield Mares*." On the other hand, it is every bit as good as his other books.

Green is a proud man, and normally he shows more contempt than respect in his writing. This book will win him no friends among the Chicanos, but Green does show a new side of himself as he writes about the Yaqui Indians of Mexico. They are pictured as a strong and wise people, fair, honest, and helpful — and once Green even seems to be looking up to one of them!

The style of writing is pure Ben K. Green, which turns English grammar inside out to great advantage. In only one instance does his open violation irritate, and that is his repetitious use of the term "Rio Grande River." It almost makes him sound like a native East Texan rather than a genuine western cowpoke.

Billed as "the epic 'Odyssey' of all horse stories," *A Thousand Miles of Mustangin'* is about Green's travels through the Big Bend country of West Texas, northern Mexico and south-western Arizona while on a year-long spree of buying and trapping horses. The time is that of the Depression, and the purpose of the trip is simply to turn a profit. One adventure leads to another, and although the first two episodes are almost too similar, the reader is never left without good reading and plenty of enjoyment. Green has done it again. His readers will digest this book quickly and eagerly await the next.

Frank H. Smyrl
East Texas State University

Tapadero: the Making of a Cowboy. By Willie Newbury Lewis. Austin (The University of Texas Press), 1972. P. 184. $7.50.

Tapadero is an account of the experiences of a young man who migrated to the Texas Panhandle in the early 1880's. William J. Lewis, a boy of fifteen, accompanied his parents in their move from Maryland to the newly founded town of Clarenden. In the space of a few years he experienced many of the trials of the raw Texas frontier, matured, and became an accomplished and successful cowman.

The author, Willie Newbury Lewis, married William J. Lewis some years later. She collected the stories of her husband, added to them materials gathered from systematic interviews with forty-five old settlers, infused her own love of the land and its people, and has come up with a colorful book, one that can be read with both pleasure and profit.

Mrs. Lewis makes much of the individuality of her husband, and justifiably so. Lewis never quite abandoned his Maryland heritage. For example, he refused to wear the typical high top, high-heel cowboy boots, relying on Mexican *tapaderos* to guard his feet while in the saddle. His early experiences in Texas sound more like those of a Horatio Alger novel in a frontier setting than those of the typical western.

More scholarly western historians may well be disturbed by two aspects of *Tapadero*. There is no documentation in any real sense, and Mrs. Lewis has resorted to the use of reconstructed conversations which in some instances make up a significant

part of the story. However, her conclusions are balanced; there is something to be gained from *Tapadero* besides the enjoyment of a charming tale.

Although *Tapadero* offers little in the way of new insights in the history of the frontier, it does, and probably without calculation, reinforce some which have already been developed. The immense sums of money involved in the establishment of the cattle kingdom; the grasping ways of some early-day cattle kings; the naivete, almost care-free abandon of some of these adventurers who poured their fortune and those of others into the ranching industry and then lost all; the impact of the coming of the railroad; the consequences of nature's disasters of 1886 and 1887—these and other points are emphasized in the book.

Tapadero is a worthy addition to the M. R. Brown Range Life series of the University of Texas Press.

Adrian Anderson
Lamar University

The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana. By H. E. Sterkx. Rutherford, Madison, and Teaneck, New Jersey (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 1972. P. 346 + Tables, biblio., index. $12.00.

The need for scholarly studies of the Negro's role in Louisiana history is great. This need is even more conspicuous when considering the impact of the free Negro on antebellum Louisiana. H. E. Sterkx in *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* proposes to trace the rise and evolution of the free Negro class and to examine social, economic, and legal aspects of this group's struggle to live in a slave orientated French or Spanish colony and later American state. The author emphasizes in particular the rapid rise in number of free Negroes in Louisiana by examining the causes and methods of manumission under various law codes until 1857. He also stresses the Whites' attempts in the 1850's to rid Louisiana of what was considered by then a dangerous element in a slave state.

Sterkx researched extensively in original materials such as census reports, personal papers, government documents, travel accounts, and newspapers. His detailed examination of French, Spanish, and American policy and practice regarding the free person of color is well developed and illustrated by examples. The similarities and differences among these three nations in Louisiana is one of the most interesting aspects of the book. However, in the opinion of this reviewer, there are many questions left unanswered by the author's method of presenting simply an account of numerous individual experiences of free Negroes. At issue is the frequency, and thus significance, of such experiences.

Undoubtedly, the greatest weakness of Sterkx's work is found in the footnoting and bibliography. Some of the footnote citations contain inaccurate information. The footnotes do not always correspond with materials listed in the bibliography. Futhermore, the author makes no reference in footnotes or bibliography to such standard secondary works on Louisiana as Joe Gray Taylor's *Negro Slavery in Louisiana* or Roland C. McConnell's *Negro Troops of Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color*. Sterkx notes in his preface that he is reviving his dissertation after almost two decades. He states that he has consulted new archival material and revised original material. Despite his additional research, Sterkx definitely does not consult any of the recent studies of Blacks in or, for that matter, outside of Louisiana. The most recent date of publication listed in his bibliography is 1953. Certainly

some of the voluminous Black studies of the last ten or fifteen years should have been incorporated into his work when relative to the topic.

Despite limitations in the work, H. E. Sterkx's *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* has merit as a rudimentary study of a neglected group in Louisiana culture. It is an addition to the story of a people who have been overlooked in the state's ante-bellum history. Nevertheless, in this reviewer's opinion, the inaccurate footnote and bibliographic entries seriously limit the scholarly worth of Sherkx's study.

Marietta M. LeBreton
Northwestern State University of Louisiana

Kudjo Quatterman. By Joseph F. Combs. San Antonio, Texas (The Naylor Company), 1972. P. 115. $4.95.

In his book *Kudjo Quatterman*, Joseph F. Combs has combined his love of history with family traditions in a desire to show that comradeship and mutual respect can be developed between persons of different races.

Mr. Combs was born in Shelby County and has written feature stories about East Texas and East Texans for many years. He has been editor for Farm and Ranch Magazine, a County Agricultural agent, a rural school teacher and the author of four other books.

The story of Kudjo Quatterman begins in pre-civil war days in Southern Alabama. The author draws on family stories told to him by both grandparents, Jesse Bryant Beck and Sarah Hall Beck. The two were reared on adjoining plantations close by Alabama's Escumbia River. The character for whom the book is named, Kudjo, is a young slave sent by his mistress, Sarah Hall, to serve her sweetheart, Jesse Beck, during his years in the Southern Army.

Though the story is partly fiction, the major happenings are based on fact and research. The author acknowledges the help received from both Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of American History at the University of Chicago, and to Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman of the Department of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute. He has been very careful to keep his chronological data in proper sequence and the records of the armies' movements historically accurate.

A tender love story that runs like a bright thread through the gloom and horror of war is based on records and legends that belong to the authors' family.

Kudjo becomes a very real person as Mr. Combs relates his roll behind the lines as attendent to "Mr. Jesse". As the two, master and slave, start for the army camp Kudjo is a bright, fun loving young boy about eleven. His first months are spent in devotion to his master's physical needs and in bringing laughter and entertainment to the troops with his dancing and singing.

Later, when the fighting became fierce, he spent his time in aiding medics in field hospitals, rebuilding bridges, repairing roads, digging trenches, erecting breast works, even tending to burial detail.

Throughout he was dependable and lovable. He even made difficult and dangerous trips through the enemy lines back to the plantations to report on the activities and health of those he loved. This steadfastness and devotion to duty stemmed from ideals and examples set for him by his own father and mother in his formative years.

I find this a book that should appeal to all persons interested in the activities of the pre-civil war and war years. Especially the young people will be interested. It will

give a new generation some idea of the deep devotion between master and slave, the black and white at a time in our history when it is sorely needed.

Lucille Morgan Terry (Mrs. W. S.)
Jefferson, Texas

Monument to a Black Man. By Daniel James Kubiak. San Antonio, Texas (The Naylor Company), 1972. P. 91. $6.95.

William Goyens was born a free black in North Carolina in 1794. He migrated in the early part of the nineteenth century to Mexican territory, in what was later to become east Texas. Settling around the town of Nacogdoches, Goyens managed to amass a considerable amount of property in the form of landholdings while engaged in his primary occupation of blacksmith. At the time of his death in 1856, the free black's estate was valued at about $11,000.

According to Kubiak, Goyens was respected and trusted by his neighbors, black and white, in the Texas territory and entrusted with a number of minor political posts in the days before American conquest of the Mexican province. He became involved with Sam Houston who used Goyens as an intermediary between the whites and the Mexicans. Later during the seizure of Mexico by the Texans, Goyens played a role in the effort to pacify the Native American tribes of the area to the point of preventing them from uniting with the Mexicans against the Anglos. For a brief period of time, until Anglo control on the area was solidified, Goyens as a black was able to exist in a status of partial freedom, but by the time of his death in 1856 the plight of a free black in Texas was indeed a grim one and his position in society was very near the bottom.

Kubiak's book is unbelievably bad in every respect. The author utilizes only secondary sources, without credit, evidently relying for most of his material on a master's thesis finished recently at Stephen F. Austin State University. A sparse bibliography is appended to the text including books and articles, some of which have only a remote connection with the subject. Kubiak has little concept of writing style and even less of sentence structure with the result that many passages in the book have to be reread in order to ascertain their meaning.

The author displays little basic knowledge of Afro-American history nor has he made any effort to keep abreast of modern historical scholarship. His entire approach in the book is one of uncritical adulation of a free black who, desperately endeavoring to remain free of white prejudice, adopted an "Uncle Tom" attitude toward his white overlords and therefore won their grudging approbation. Still even here on the basis of Kubiak's scanty evidence the white neighbors of Goyens' treated him with a lack of fundamental respect for his humanity. Goyens was forced on several occasions to buy off slave catchers seeking to kidnap the free black into bondage and his supposed white friends remained aloof and failed to offer aid. Certainly the author would have lauded any such assistance since througout the book he makes every effort to make Texan whites innocent of any serious discrimination against blacks.

Kubiak's praise of Goyens for aiding Anglo Texans in their effort to prevent a Mexican-Native American united front against them might be read considerably differently as a betrayal by Goyens of the best interests of his race who would have certainly been better off under Mexican jurisdiction. The author fails to come to grips with the fundamental racial issues of the period in which the Anglos were responsible for foisting upon Texas a caste society within which Mexicans, Native Americans and blacks were denied their basic rights and have yet to fully regain them.

Norman Lederer
University of Wisconsin—Stevens Point

In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910, by H. Shelton Smith. Durham (Duke University Press), 1972. P. 318, + index. $8.50.

White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South, by David Edwin Harrel, Jr., Nashville (Vanderbilt University Press), 1971. P. 161, + bibliographical essay and index. $6.50.

Two respected university presses have recently added to the growing literature analyzing the role of the churches in race relations within the South. Both books are carefully researched, important contributions. The first is a recounting of the larger plot in the formative century; the second is an intricate close-up of a more recent sub-plot.

In His Image, But . . . begins with an introductory comment on Jefferson's mixed feelings over the place of the Negro in America. H. Shelton Smith then outlines the failure of abolitionists to convince the nation of the evils of slavery. Quakers, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians all condemned slavery, notes the author, but through compromise capitulated to slave-holding positions. Even manumission societies in the South, contrary to traditional thought, were ineffective. Eventually the slavery issue became the primary cause of the internal schism of three denominations: Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists.

Two chapters indicate that there was, perhaps, no other professional category in the South so vocal in support of slavery as a divine institution and the right of the slave states to secession as the clergy. Their biblical, sociological, and religious arguments favoring slavery become the heart of the book.

Though the war was lost and with it the right to secession, Southern white denominations triumphed in developing what Smith calls "racial orthodoxy." However, the success was mitigated to some extent by racial moderates.

It is a pleasure to read a thorough study that moves well. Smith has skillfully joined good research with good writing. The index is comprehensive and the bibliography is to be found in his footnotes.

David Edwin Harrell, Jr. writes concerning a much neglected group of people. *White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South* treats southern whites who are out of the power structure in terms of employment, class and religion. Harrell indicates some of the reasons why these people are seldom subjects of ecclasiastical studies; he enumerates the various groups with whom he is concerned; he traces sectarian attitudes towards questions of race; and he indicates the diverse ways that white sectarians have acted or reacted toward the Negro. Harrell finds that the new urban middle class and the lowest class in southern society are more radical in their racial views and actions. Those sectarians in between, referred to as the "Common Man", are more conservative. He concludes, "The future of racial progress in the South is more dependent on class evolution in the section that the successes and failures of particular religious groups."

Although the scope of Harrell's work is the South, the sects he describes—the Churches of Christ, Pentecostals, a variety of Baptists, Cumberland Presbyterians, cult-type religious leaders, and faith healers—are familiar throughout East Texas. His bibliographical essay discusses sectarian periodicals published in Lufkin, Austin, Killene, (sic) Katy, Houston, and Dallas as well as Shreveport, Louisiana.

Jerry M. Self
Nacogdoches, Texas

The Folk of Southern Fiction. Merrill Maguire Skaggs. Athens, Georgia (University of Georgia Press), 1972. P. 271 + biblio., index. $11.00.

This monograph is an effort to correct long-held literary and historical misconceptions that the antebellum, and to an extent the postbellum, South was a section whose classes could be divided into plantation aristocracy, white trash, and blacks. The backbone of southern society was none of these types, but the yeoman farmer, identified as early as 1929 by Ulrich B. Phillips, and so appropriately labelled by historian Frank L. Owsley in his *Plain Folk of the Old South.* Skaggs' study devotes itself to a discussion of these plain folk, and how they found their place in the literary genre of southern local color fiction. Beginning with the early southwestern humorists, this lineage is carefully developed through its refinements until it emerges full-blown in the writings of three representative modern authors, Willaim Faulkner, Eudora Welty, and Flannery O'Conner.

Although the thematic development of the romantic South was dated by Francis Pendleton Gaines as beginning in 1832 with the publication of John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, the real impetus for such stories came after the Civil War. While national attention was focused on the vanquished South, southern writers, in an effort to rationalize their defeat, strove for respectability by portraying the idyllic nature of the former southern Eden. Albion Tourgee, the literature North Carolina carpetbagger, said of southern feeling: "The South believed, honestly believed, in its innate superiority over all other races and peoples . . . "

Representative southern romanticists were John Esten Cooke, Ruth McEnery Stuart, and more importantly Thomas Nelson Page. The latter's most popular stories, related by a free Negro who idealized his former condition as a slave, often included observations of a blossoming love between two white aristocrats. In juxtaposition with the aristocratic stories were a few early efforts describing "poor white trash." The literary tradition of this group has been traced by Shields McIlwaine, and they have formed an important part of the twentieth century works of Erskin Caldwell.

Southern local colorists, like the romanticists, were eager to portray their section in the most positive manner. However, unlike the romanticists, these writers were reluctant to use the stereotyped white trash, noble aristocrats, or obsequious blacks. Instead, the southern colorists turned to the plain folk, which because of their freedom from long-established dictates, could range the scale of human emotions, have "virtues and vices," and be realistically described with their faults acknowledged. These characters, often speaking in dialect, could gossip, brawl, act pretty, and even fornicate, but still be loveable. This thesis becomes the germ of Skaggs' contention that the plain folk tradition was not a twentieth century invention, but had existed alongside the plantation tradition, and had even, by the turn of the century, developed its own stereotypes.

After tracing the roots of southern local color fiction back into southwestern humor, Skaggs begins a critical examination of the lives of the common folk. Whether it be their economic identity, their social status, folk institutions and events, or daily existence, each facet is discussed and representative remarks made from the stories of such local colorists as Joel Chandler Harris, Sherwood Bonner, Albion Tourgée, Richard Malcolm Johnston, or George Washington Cable. For example, a character in one of Tourgée's novel describes a Carolinian as "a thrifty farmer, with four or five hundred acres of good land, living in a log-house with a strange mixture of plainness and plenty about him . . . " Cable, describing a Creole who loved political rallies, wrote of his affinity for southern rhetoric: "He bathed, he paddled, dove, splashed, in a surf of it."

Most incisive are the chapters devoted to the development of stereotyped characters in southern local color fiction. With few exceptions, these literati produced new char-

acterizations of the plain man based on economic class, geographic location, or caste distinctions. Tennessee mountaineers, Mississippi hillbillies, North Carolina tarheels, or Georgia crackers appeared in these regional stories. George Cable's Acadians, and more particularly his Creoles, marked new departures in creative American fiction. These descriptions and innovative stereotypes became standardized and developed into a literary tradition which inevitably affected the work of recent southern writers. Therein lies the author's major contention, that the inclusion of plain folk in the southern literary heritage has been too long overlooked by students of contemporary literature.

Marshall Scott Legan
Northeast Louisiana University

The Role of the Yankee in the Old South. By Fletcher M. Green. Athens, Georgia (University of Georgia Press), 1972. P. 150 + biblio., index. $6.00.

No one who has worked in the field of antebellum Southern history can be oblivious to the ever-present Yankee immigrant playing his part in the unfolding drama alongside those to the region born. Indeed, so fundamental to the Southern past has been the contribution of many of these adopted sons that they tend to lose in our minds any identity with their true origins, and a positive reminder is often necessary to make us conscious of what we know but are inclined to ignore.

It is the chief merit of Fletcher Green's Mercer University Lamar Memorial Lectures that they bring together for us the most complete record of these transplanted Yankees which has yet been compiled. From his vast fund of information on the Old South, Professor Green has sorted these men and women according to the areas of their principal contributions into groups of governmental and political protagonists; educators; journalists, humorists, and theatrical entrepreneurs; religious leaders; and agriculturists and industrialists. Among their number are such as Edward Livingston, John Slidell, Amos Kendall, William Barton Rogers, Moses Austin, Richard King, Thomas Affleck, John Berrien, Thomas Green Clemson, Noah Ludlow, Henry M. Shreve, and countless others. The range of their contributions was enormous, and it is indeed impossible to conceive what the South would have been without them.

Professor Green shows in these biographical sketches that Southern Yankees were generally warmly respected and honored in their new homeland, so long as they gave no open hostility to the region's commitment to slavery. It would appear that most of them were able to meet this condition willingly and with sincere conviction, though some did eventually reveal a greater dedication to the sanctity of the Union.

It is good to be reminded of how tangled are the skeins of our past, and Professor Green's volume is a valuable guide to one aspect of that complexity.

Joseph G. Tregle, Jr.
Louisiana State University in New Orleans

Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy. Albert Stoutamire. Rutherford, N.J. (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 1972. P. 349. + illus. $15.00.

The title of this book promises much. The text delivers little of that promise. Dr. Albert Stoutamire's *Music of the Old South: Colony to Confederacy* is not a history of music in the ante-bellum period of Southern history. It is a string of facts, ill put together, about music and musicians in Virginia, even there confined to Williamsburg during colonial days and to Richmond from the time that it became capitol of the commonwealth. It might well, if a pseudo-operatic title were desired, be called *La Triviata.*

Music in the Old South was completed as a doctoral dissertation at Florida State University in 1962. In his preface Dr. Stoutamire implies that it was revised for publica-

tion as a book; but it still bears heavily the marks of a dissertation's Procrustean outline, and there is no citation in its bibliography dated later than 1959.

Dr. Stoutamire has made a diligent search through the newspapers of Colonial Virginia and of Richmond during the first half of the nineteenth century. For the early years he records, apparently, every mention, no matter how trivial, of music, musicians, and musical instruments. For the last two decades of his study, just where printed records become much more abundant, he is more selective in his coverage. For the period of the Confederacy (despite the implication of the book's title, Dr. Stoutamire's coverage extends to April 1865) he allows only about eight pages (plus sixteen more of programs reproduced as part of an appendix).

In his concluding chapter Dr. Stoutamire declares: "Above all, the people who sang and played the instruments, read and wrote the musical scores, and danced to the music roam through the pages of this book." Not so. Advertisements are quoted, performances noted, but never do the names mentioned become characters. And characters many of them were. Frederick Nelson Crouch lived as if to be written about in the Sunday supplements. The long musical career of John Hill Hewitt is certainly not without interest even though more of it took place in other Southern cities than in Richmond. Harry Macarthy, the most popular of Confederate musical entertainers, is not mentioned. Nor are such vocalists as Mr. and Mrs. George Sloman, Ella Wren, and the Queen Sisters (the Waldrons), all of whom performed in Richmond. Blind Tom, the illiterate Black prodigy, is listed in a table of concert performers, but is absent from the text. Even Jenny Lind and Fanny Elssler remain only names in Dr. Stoutamire's narrative. Louis Gottschalk, the most accomplished of Southern musicians of the nineteenth century is mentioned once (in a footnote), along with the amazing assertion that it is disputable as to whether or not New Orleans should be classed as a city of the Old South. Once, only once, a bit of personality and of humor, invades this dreary history. Dr. Stoutamire tells how the Rev. Moses Drury Hoge, a Presbyterian pastor of the old school and no believer in music in the church, once allowed the Orphean Family to sing at a church service. He was confirmed in his prejudice against music in the church, and he warned his uncle in Raleigh, a city on the Orpheans' itinerary (P. 243):

> One of the young men is an imposter, he pretends to be a vocalist, but he carries a private trombone in his belly, and makes believe he is singing. Mrs. Ham I fear conceals a little octave flute in the roof of her mouth, as you will discern when she sings the Tyrolese March.

It is seldom that a book is so completely devoid of redeeming features. A list of "Public Buildings Used for Music Performances" is of some interest and use. Even here Dr. Stoutamire conflates two very different buildings (though on the same site and foundation) into one. A good proportion of the illustrations are more relevant to Virginia tourism than to music, and the illustrations are not without other flaws. Two are reproduced from poor microfilm copies; the performers noted as acting at the Richmond Theatre did not appear in the building shown but in its predecessor; Joe Sweeney, the banjoist, is pictured entertaining a group of Confederates in camp, but the text states that he died in 1860. The apprendices are essentially padding and are not indexed. There are faulty entries and major omissions in the bibliography. Even the index is poorly done. The writing is pedestrian at best, amateurish throughout, and ungrammatical on occasion.

The author doubtless expended a great deal of effort on this book. It is, however, embarrassing to a reviewer to have to write about it. One can throw away an apple after one sour mouthful. A reviewer can walk out on a play or concert. Once having promised a review of a book of scholarly pretensions, the reviewer must read it and

report. Perhaps this manuscript should have been stopped before it was accepted as part of the work for a doctorate. It should certainly not have been accepted by a university press. Having been accepted a good copy-editor should have eliminated such egregious errors as one reference to the period 1801-1810 as the "first decade of the eighteenth century," inconsistent use of names, and breaches of style in footnoting. A good editor would certainly have asked for elimination or revision of such a simplistic summary statement as: "The two principal church organizations in late eighteenth-century Richmond were Episcopal and Presbyterian congregations, and since they worshipped together in the Capitol, the music of the two denominations was similar if not identical." There are times when of the making of books there should be an end.

Richard Harwell
Georgia Southern College
Statesboro, Georgia

Folk-Songs of the Southern United States. By Josiah H. Combs. Austin (University of Texas Press), 1969. P. 254 + appendix, index. $6.00.

Since explorers first set forth on New World soils, Americans have carefully nurtured a tradition of ballad singing. Whether gathered around the cabin hearth or a camp meeting, raising the voice in song was an important frontier diversion and became a cohesive force contributing to pioneer friendships. Josiah Combs relates in this entertaining and historically valuable volume that as a form of oral literature, folksongs and ballads are not yet dead, but are nevertheless slowly diminishing with the encroachment of modern industrial society. The author contends that a study of regional folklore is incomplete without a consideration of topographical features influencing Southern history as well as an appropriate examination of ancestry, language, and customs. For purposes of this study, the writer appraised several hundred folksongs of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, and Texas, and included the text of sixty in his narrative.

Majestic valleys and sombre mountains of the South have served to sequester people into the realm, and nearly impassable roads and primitive communication lines virtually isolated Southern Highlanders from the world. Ethnologists have long since recognized that Highlands served as a natural reservoir for folksongs, and being sealed in a rugged environment, the inhabitant infested his complement of folk tales with vestiges of superstitious emotionalism. Highlanders also adapted a considerable number of songs belonging in origin to Negro slaves. The most singular characteristic of these songs are the spirituals, and along with the song chants of the Indians of Appalachia, they offer a distinct and native contribution to American song.

Combs asserts that to properly understand the Highlander, his social life must be examined. Through a real investigation, Highland social life and song fests manifested themselves in several prominent forms of regional entertainment: the party, the social, and the hoe-down shin-dig. Folksongs came to be introduced and exchanged most commonly at these gatherings, and were thusly added to a rich lode of mountain folk culture. Names and terminologies figured strongly in these songs, for Highland nomenclature was both elemental and simple, depicting the result of the mountaineer's close contact with nature and soil. A long uphill struggle with the elements forced the Highlander to necessarily deal with conditions as he found them, and he formulated his phraseology around them. Names of post offices, mountains, birds, streams, ridges, and roads were an integral part of Highland culture, and were exhibited in his songs. Through their centuries-old transmission, folksongs surviving from the England of Elizabeth have been thrown into a crucible of new environments in a new world. The language employed by the Highland singer in a folksong is often superior to that exemplary of his everyday speech, both in diction and in grammatical accuracy.

Through this daily habitation in an upland expanse, Highland Americans have presented to the world such popular and familiar tunes as "The Arkansas Traveler," "Turkey in the Straw," "Moonshine," "Jacob's Ladder," "The Jolly Boatsman," "Shortnin' Bread," and "The Yew-Pine Mountain." Yet for far too long, culture of the mountain peoples has been a pawn to the tawdry motion picture, yellow journalist, and other means of degredation. Southern Highlanders have long been ignored by the remainder of the American populace, who generalize the region's people only as quaint and illiterate purveyors of mountain music. Since 1950 there has been an attempt to rescue a dying folk movement and to popularize the folksong as an entertaining mechanism of oral history.

As the modern world has engulfed the realm of the Southern Highlands, the shrill of factory whistles and the rattle of locomotives reverberating through valleys have replaced the once melodious sound of dulcimers, fiddles, banjos, and tuning forks. The impact of sophistication has been largely responsible in sounding the death knell of the folksong in America. As increasing numbers of Southern Highlanders enter the doors of higher learning, they leave their "batch of ballads" on the outside, never again returning to them. Finding himself in the atmosphere of more worldly colleagues, Joe College from the Highlands has sadly begun to enjoy newer forms of music, and ashamedly ponders why he and his relatives ever sang those "old-fashioned" folksongs.

Staley Hitchcock
Shreveport, Louisiana

The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influences of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861-1865. By Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer. Nashville, Tennessee, (Vanderbilt University Press), 1972. P. xi, 435. $10.00.

One is hard-pressed to evaluate this "data collector's delight." Certainly an important book, it represents prodigious scholarly work; but it is very technical and the prose sections are dully written. With few exceptions even Civil War experts will prefer to have the information abstracted. The study seeks "to describe the relationship between a congressman's legislative performance and some of the known considerations that could have influenced him," (p. 3). It does do this, and it confirms with some subtle modifications the generalizations earlier arrived at by other scholarly but universally undefinitive probings of the Confederate Congress.

In essence, Alexander and Beringer find close division in the great majority of roll calls. Moreover, congressmen often showed erratic tendencies, being moved by personal whim and a myriad of mutually interacting motivations. Wealth and slaveholding by member or constituency made no difference. Former party affiliation mattered considerably, and stand on secession was even more significant, though most important of all was Exterior versus Interior status (e.g. whether or not the member's home district was occupied or under attack by Federal forces.) Sectionalism permeated the Confederacy, heralding possibly a stark division between upper South against lower South. Former Democrats significantly and frequently were less nationalistic than former Whigs, and therefore less inclined to extend additional power to the national government. Delegates from Exterior areas were much more cohesive, much more prone to sacrifice, and much more tenaciously committed to the Confederacy's continued existance.

Alexander and Beringer conclude "that knowing a member's Exterior or Interior status, his secession stand, and when he served in Congress is almost all that is needed to place the great majority in at least the proper half of a spectrum from strong to weak dedication to Confederate survival," (p. 329), but much of the knowledge they reveal remains to be further exploited. Beyond doubt, many who tackle even a part of the book

will turn also to Wilfred Buck Yearns' *The Confederate Congress* (1960) which is well done but limited by being mainly a history of legislation. E. Merton Coulter's chapter on the Congress in *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (1950) still stands as the best general account, though the insights offered by Clement Eaton (1954) and Frank Vandiver (1970) in their histories of the Confederacy add judicious dimensions.

The present book affirms the opinions of David Potter, David Donald, and Eric McKitrick—who all emphasize a lack of leadership and most importantly, a lack of political party organization. These scholars feel that a democratic governmental body cannot function well without party discipline because opposition elements are consistently incapable of "establishing effective alternatives to whatever executive policies they might oppose." (p. 342). But this notwithstanding, it will be interesting to see how Emory M. Thomas now will handle the Congress in the history of the Confederacy he is preparing for the "New American Nation Series." In his *Confederacy as a Revolutionary Experience* (1971), Thomas emphasized the remarkable degree of cooperation that the Congress did give to Jefferson Davis.

Herman Hattaway
University of Missouri-Kansas City

West Texas After the Discovery of Oil: A Modern Frontier. By Richard R. Moore. Austin (Pemberton Press), 1971. P. xii, 185, + illustrations, bibliography, index. $6.95.

The West Texas oil industry began with the Ranger field in 1917 and through the next half century oil or gas was found in four-fifths of the eighty-five counties in that region. These rich discoveries brought sweeping economic and social changes to West Texas. Richard R. Moore has shouldered a considerable task in his attempt to analyze the impact of these changes upon this region that previously had supported only scattered rural or small-town populations existing on desultory agricultural activity. In the main he succeeds: his research, particularly in the use of newspapers, trade journals, and personal interviews, is resourceful and, obviously, energetic. He makes an incisive examination of the prominent individuals involved in the initiation of West Texas petroleum development and of the new institutional forms which followed, particularly integrated oil companies and labor unions. His provocative conclusion is that the oil industry may have brought a high degree of economic diversification and urbanization to West Texas but essentially the area still retains the rural-oriented social and political values of its earlier agricultural frontier.

The book has its faults—perhaps not all of them of the author's making. Its organization is poor, particularly in the first two chapters, where the judicious use of subchapters, or other devices of transition, would help to guide the reader through the sequence of West Texas oil discoveries. A major deficiency is the lack of detailed maps particularly those which indicate the relationship of intra-regional oil fields within West Texas. The poor quality of the book's single map renders it useless. These format weaknesses are somewhat compensated for by the inclusion of a critical bibliography and several pertinent photographs.

John O. King
University of Houston

Arthur E. Stilwell: Promoter with a Hunch. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. Nashville, (Vanderbilt University Press), 1971. illus., P. 250. $10.00

Arthur Edward Stilwell of Rochester, New York, properly belongs to the list of Americn railroad entrepreneurs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Dur-

ing his illustrious career Stilwell promoted two major railroads in the Southwest, fostered the development of a number of new towns along his lines, and wrote several volumes on a variety of subjects. His greatest talent, according to Bryant, was his ability to persuade investors to support his rail lines even in the depression years of the 1890's.

Stillwell began his business career in 1875 at the age of fourteen when family bankruptcy caused him to leave home. After working at several jobs including selling railroad advertisements and Travelers Insurance, Stilwell and his young bride Jenny settled in Kansas City in 1886. It was here that he was to spend the major portion of his productive years. Engaging his time first in a real estate company, Stilwell soon gave his attention to the development of the Kansas City Suburban Belt, a local railroad which introduced him to many lessons concerning railroad promotion, construction, and finance.

While he was completing his railroad ventures in the Kansas City area in the early 1890's, Arthur Stilwell announced plans for constructing a railroad from Kansas City to the Gulf of Mexico. Such a railroad was not original with Stilwell but it was he who brought this dream into reality. The Kansas City, Pittsburg and Gulf Railroad was begun in 1893 and completed in 1897. During this venture Stilwell spent much of his time back east and in Europe seeking financial aid for his project. The fact that he was able to complete the line in the midst of an international depression is testimony to the fact that Stilwell must have been a superb promoter.

Concurrent with railroad building in predominantly rural areas was townsite development. Stilwell and his associates actively participated in creating towns and hamelts along the RCPG. Stilwell, Oklahoma; DeRidder, Louisiana; and Port Arthur, Texas, were some of the more important urban developments created by Stilwell and his associates. In Port Arthur, Stilwell promoted the digging of a deep water canal to Sabine Pass, thus linking Port Arthur to the Gulf of Mexico.

In spite of Stilwell's success at railroad and town building, the KCPG ran into financial difficulty from the beginning. Faulty construction, a lack of available capital, and a failure to return profits on investments caused the KCPG to fall into receivership in 1899. John W. "Bet-a-Million" Gates eventually gained control of Stilwell's railroad, renaming it the Kansas City Southern.

Without a project to occupy his tremendous energies, Arthur Stilwell turned his attention to a new endeavor. In February 1900 he announced plans to build a rail line from Kansas City to the port of Topolobambo, Mexico. Immediately Stilwell went to the eastern United States, England, and Mexico to seek the financial support necessary to begin his new railroad—the Kansas City, Mexico, and Orient. As Bryant points out, however, this project had all of the signs of an "entrepreneural error." Stilwell misjudged the cost of the railroad, did not forsee the turbulent political situation in Mexico, and did not learn from his first railroad experience that large scale railroad building was a thing of the past. Nonetheless, exuding confidence and radiating optimism, Stilwell embarked on a building program of the KCMO that a lesser ego would have not attempted. Unlike the KCPG, the KCMO was never completed in Stilwell's lifetime. After completing only several hundred miles of unconnected railroad, the KCMO went into receivership in 1912.

Shortly after Stilwell lost the KCMO he was seriously hurt in an accident which left him a partial invalid for the remainder of his life. Retirement was out of the question, however, for Stilwell embarked on a writing career at the age of fifty-three. His writings involved a variety of subjects including diatribes on governmental regulation of railroads, world peace after World War I, and mental health. In the closing years of his life, Stilwell became a mystic, claiming that throughout his life he had followed "hunches"

and "brownies" which had directed all of his major decisions. He published his autobiography in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1927 and 1928. Stilwell died of pneumonia while residing in New York in 1928.

In spite of the shortage of Stilwell papers, Keith Bryant has published a much needed biography of an important American railroad entrepreneur. In several instances the book tends to be overly pedantic, especially in the second chapter where Bryant leaves the chronicle of Stilwell's life to introduce the reader to American entrepreneural historiography. Furthermore, much of the factual data concerning the figures of mortgages, bonds, stock, etc., could have been relegated to footnotes to make the text more readable. All in all, however, Bryant has produced significant biography which should receive attention from serious historians of railroading, business, and development of the Southwest.

James M. McReynolds
Stephen F. Austin State University

For Land's Sake. By K. T. Palmer. Flagstaff (Northland Press), 1971. P. 354. $10.50.

For Land's Sake is the life story of K. T. Palmer, noted land developer in present-day Arizona. Palmer came to Arizona from Illinois in 1920, a young tubercular World War I veteran hoping to prolong his life beyond the two years predicted by his doctors. Fate was kind, for he overcame the disease, and in the next forty years established himself as one of the state's leading businessmen. This book, however, is no defense of the ideals of expansion and private enterprise. It is the down to earth story of a career that included work as a small-time lawyer, homesteader, junkman and land developer.

The author's review of his life as a homesteader is the most interesting part of the work. Readers will delight at his tale of homesteading 640 acres at the foot of Pinnacle Peak outside Phoenix. Living in a "little shack" without electricity, running water or other modern conveniences, his family overcame one crisis after another. The case of the rattlesnake in the family automobile is only one example. Spiders, bed-bugs, skunks, and even an unfriendly cattleman tried to drive them off, but the Saguaro cactus, the shadows on the mountainside, "the crisp fresh air, the sunrises, and the starstudded velvet of the sky at night" converted the Palmers into devotees of desert life. The effect of the desert on the family suggests that even in the twentieth century man can still enjoy a simple life close to nature.

It is the story, too, of the transformation of raw desert into settled communities. As the author recalls his role in the development of large housing tracts, including the area around Pinnacle Peak, he does not dwell on personal accomplishment, the pitfall for many self-made men, but focuses on the growth and development of Arizona. Since Palmer does not praise the ideals of rugged individualism, the reader has a straight-forward description of the frontier spirit under twentieth-century conditions. The book, therefore, provides some insight into the process and effects of rapid change as well as an entertaining account of life in the modern West.

The major shortcoming to one concerned with ecology is the lack of critical awareness in regard to the issue of man as a destroyer of the environment. As an admirer of nature and a real estate promoter, indeed a rare mixture, Palmer is unusually equipped to find some middle ground between the guardians of ecology and the builders of cities. But he avoids the issue of ecology, leaving the reader wondering which he loves most—preservation of nature or land development. Had he faced the situation squarely, a blow might have been struck for the cause of balancing man with nature. His omission of the controversy could be interpreted as an indication that he sees nature as something to be exploited for self-gain, a traditional American outlook, but a contradiction of his love of nature. This inconsistency will disturb some readers.

Whatever the shortcomings, the autobiography, quite properly, will appeal to popular audiences. The pathos of tragedy and hardship blended with the satisfaction of accomplishment and well-being provide an interesting example of the rags to riches theme. One puts the book down with a sense of empathy for the author and his beloved land.

Deward C. Brown
Texas Christian University

The Texas Army. By Robert L. Wagner. Austin, Texas (P.O. Box 13488, Private Publisher), 1973. P. xviii, 285. $10.50.

Bob Wagner's book on the 36th Infantry Division, so appropriately called by him *The Texas Army,* is emphatically a fine work. This reviewer knows it to have been, indeed, a "labor of love" for Wagner, who from the days of early inspiration persisted in tracking down every possible source of authority in preparing a definitive history of a proud division.

The World War II version of the division, as many know, was mobilized in November 1940 as the Texas National Guard division. Getting ready for its fateful destiny in Italy, the Division trained in Texas, Florida, Massachusetts and North Africa. By the time of its landing on the beaches of Salerno, it was as ready as training could make it.

Wagner's volume follows the movements of the "T-Patchers" from the assault at Salerno to the division's final skirmishes north of Rome. Of special interest is the careful presentation of the story of the controversy involving division leaders and General Mark Clark, a friction known somewhat at the time by a few in the military, and in the press, and known later, with some confusion, perhaps, by Texans here and there who heard some version of the troubled story from some member of the division, or from some friend or non-friend of the 36th. Wagner's work should clarify details for all readers and place the conflict in proper perspective. His approach is to be as objective as possible in dealing with all charges against General Clark and he provides Clark's several rebuttals. Wagner finds no evidence that Clark was out to destroy the National Guard or to discriminate against its officers.

The main story, however, is of the combat valor of the 36th Division. "Fate had dictated that the battles fought by the Texas Division be among the most crucial of the Italian Campaign" (p. 234). Certainly true, but veterans of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 9th divisions, among others, might suggest further qualifications of the author's conclusion that the 36th emerged at the end, "as perhaps the finest American infantry division in the United States Army" (p. 234). "Perhaps" is always a good word for historians, especially in Texas.

Wagner's maps and photographs are excellent as are the notes, index and general format; and orange and white colors make for an attractive dust jacket.

James L. Nichols
Stephen F. Austin State University

American Axes: A Survey of Their Development and Their Makers. By Henry J. Kauffman. Brattleboro, Vermont (The Stephen Green Press), 1972. P. 151 + biblio., index $12.00.

In 1929 Henry Mercer began the grandaddy of all American tool books, *Ancient Carpenter's Tools,* with a discussion of the axe. He called it the most basic of all tools and argued that the short-bitted, heavy-polled American axe was a "unique instrument, unknown in other countries except by import from the United States." Now, forty

years later, Henry Kauffman has paid this instrument the homage so long due to it by devoting a full-length, specialized study to the ubiquitous tool.

Kauffman begins by outlining the development of the axe in Europe from the stone age through the seventeenth century. He encounters a situation that is a recurring phenomenon in the study of material culture: we have a good deal more data about the axes used by our prehistoric ancestors than we do about those used in Rennaisance Europe or colonial America. However, by using pictorial evidence, examples from European museums, and specimens of European trade axes found at North American sites, he pieces the story together. Subsequent chapters deal with the eighteenth century and the problems of iron-making and axe-making on the blacksmith's forge; the nineteenth century and the development of the triphammer and American tool factories; and the twentieth century and the introduction of drop-forging. The book also includes an excellent photographic portfolio of fifty-two axe types, including goosewing axes, felling axes, broad axes, hewing axes, trade axes, shop axes, and such exotics as turf-cutting and ice axes; and two practical chapters on the care and use of the axe. Finally, an appendix lists about two hundred American axe manufactures, culled from various printed sources and Patent Office records.

Kauffman has done a thorough and scholarly job. His book will doubtless remain a standard work on American axes for many years. He has made full use of manufacturer's catalogues, newspaper advertisements, family memoirs, blacksmith's ledgers, and the other elusive documents that must underpin a work of this nature. His style is lively and his explanations of technical processes are clear and incisive. Perhaps more important than any of these is the fact that he has seen through his subject to a universal truth about the manufacture of everyday objects: that old, traditional methods of manufacture are tenacious and die very slowly; and that a successful innovation in manufacture may be known for years before it is universally adopted.

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Lineages and Genealogical Notes. By Mrs. Harry Joseph Morris. Dallas, Texas (B & W Printing & Letter Service), 1967. P. 355 + illus, index. $16.00.

Knowing that the average reader would have difficulty in following the system of writing necessary to a Genealogist, Mrs. Morris explains her system carefully in the Foreword. Her purpose and motivation are expressed in her quotation from Washington Irving: "He lives with his ancestry, and he lives with his posterity; to both he considers himself involved in deep responsibility."

Lineages and Genealogical Notes is an expert handling of the most difficult type of writing, by an author who enjoys an international reputation in her chosen fields of Genealogy and Heraldry. She is an active member of more than sixty hereditary, historical, and patriotic societies, and eminently capable as writer and lecturer. Although Mrs. Morris is a native of East Texas, born in Panola County, (of which she gives a brief history), most of the lineages are of Seventeenth Century Colonials from New England.

The book is composed of twenty-three chapters dealing with that many immigrant ancestors. Families named are: Bangs, Black, Boynton, Brewster, Burton, Collier, Conyers, Dew, Harris, Hazen, Hicks, Hinckley, Hopkins, Huckins, Hunt, Mayo, Prence, Richards, Skipwith, Snow, Storrs, Swan, and Wells. Following each chapter the documentation and bibliography for each line. The lineages are carefully organized with cross references aimed to avoid unnecessary repetition.

Connected with the Skipwith lineage is the most outstanding feature of the book, giving the lineages from Charlemagne and many other royal persons, both English and Continental as well as lineages from the Magna Charta Barons, Knights of The Garter,

Mayflower passengers and signers of the Mayflower Compact. This book makes an important contribution to any Genealogical Library, and a necessary reference book for any serious researcher in that field.

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Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction. By Harold E. Davis. Baton Rouge (Louisiana State University Press), 1972. P. ix, 269 + foreword, biblio., index. $10.00.

Nothing is more difficult than tracing the dissemination and the impact of ideas. They have no reality of their own and cannot be listed on bills of lading to be checked and signed for when they reach their destination. Those individuals who engage in this perilous work generally approach it in one of two ways. The first is to delimit a broad philosophic trend within a time period and place all thinkers as pro or con relative to this trend. Once this is done, the person doing the placing must glower menancingly so as to squelch all argument—not an easy thing to do in print—and move on to other persons and trends. If done well, it is mentally devastating if not particularly enlightening. In the second method, one notes the salient philosophical characteristics of a thinker, tries to determine what effect his thought had on his time and *vice versa*, and then gracefully admits that conclusions resulting therefrom are debatable since they are based on circumstantial evidence. If done well, this method is both exciting and enlightening. Regrettably, Harold E. Davis in *Latin American Thought: A Historical Introduction* has chosen the first method.

Mr. Davis' book is clearly a general survey and it suffers from the weaknesses associated with such works—and then some. It attempts to cover everything between "Pre-Conquest and Colonial Antecedents" and "Neo-Christian Thought" in less than 250 pages, with the result being that much is reviewed and little is clarified. The use of this approach perhaps explains the multitude of long, adjective-weary sentences which promise everything and deliver very little. Surely Mr. Davis had tongue-in-cheek when he wrote that early twentieth century thought in Latin America was "Krausist, Spiritualist, neo-Kantian, Bergsonian, Leninist-Marxist, and anarchist in the pattern of Sorel. Increasingly, as the century advanced, it was existentialist and relativist." More is said here than the mind can handle in one sitting; what is left unsaid would fill volumes. Mr. Davis also writes on a number of occasions that Latin American thought since independence has had a "revolutionary character" due to its "tendency to reject traditional European forms and values as forms of colonialism." The reader impatiently awaits a full delineation of "traditional European forms and values", but it is not forthcoming. The reader then vainly hopes for a clear explanation as to how an area characterized by revolutionary thought has been dominated historically by the forces of conservatism, and again he is disappointed. There are entirely too many unfulfilled expectations and disappointments in this slim volume.

In his concluding chapter Mr. Davis explains that one should not view his book as being in anyway definitive. It is an unnecessary warning. The history of Latin American thought is obviously an underdeveloped area which requires a great deal of additional research, and there is no comprehensive study yet available. But there have been a sufficient number of preliminary works to expect that such a comprehensive study will appear soon. One can only hope that in the immediate future Mr. Davis and others engaged in this important work will stop drawing the boundaries of Latin American thought and begin filling in the relatively untouched interior.

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